

Surreal Classicism:
Salvador Dalí Illustrates *Don Quixote*

by

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the materiality of a unique text, Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library's 1946 *Don Quixote*, illustrated by Catalanian painter Salvador Dalí. It analyzes Dalí's classical trajectory, how Dalí and the text were received in mid-twentieth century North America, and how they both fit into the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*. Each is revealed to be unique in comparison with the history of the genre due to the publishing house's utilization of Dalí's high-quality illustrations in a small-sized text. Lavish illustrations traditionally have been reserved for larger, collectible editions. The contemporary material significance of the 1946 edition is revealed by examining organizations, people, and circumstances that were necessary for its production in the United States, and by contextualizing the text's reception by North American popular culture, high art echelons, and art critics.

The overarching history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* is examined, comparing Dalí and his illustrations with important thematic and methodological benchmarks set by illustrators within this 400-year period, especially regarding renderings of reality and fantasy. Analyses of the first three watercolor illustrations of Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* reveal how the painter forms mythological imagery and composes the quixotic dichotomy of reality and fantasy through the metaphoric gaze of an inanimate figure representing the protagonist. Dalí at times renders the "real" Don Quixote as incapacitated, omitting from his illustrations universalized iconography utilized in previous centuries achieved by rendering Don Quixote's perspective, gaze, and heroic interpretation of events. In these three illustrations, Dalí forms Don Quixote as a

deflated figure based in *burla* (mockery) and *engaño* (self-deception) by negating Don Quixote's gaze within the compositions, without compromising the painter's trademark surrealist style.

The text therefore challenges the genre's print history while Dalí challenges French and German Romantic illustrators' universalized iconography that traditionally highlights the nobility of the knight errant. By focalizing fantastic madness as interacting with burlesque reality, Dalí creates a new episteme within the genre of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, establishing his unique niche as an illustrator in this genre.

For my mother, Patricia Holcombe,
whose love and support inspire my continued studies.

For José Armando López Mijangos, *amigo y esposo*,
who shares my life's journey and my gaze upon reality and fantasy.

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I'd also like to symbolically thank a small bookstore owner in Asheville, North Carolina for selling me a copy of the 2004 deluxe Editorial Planeta edition of *Don Quixote* illustrated by Salvador Dalí. Little did I know that this book, forgotten on my bookshelf for a few years, would one day inspire investigations that lead to this dissertation.

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CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION¹

During the Renaissance, when they wished to imitate Immortal Greece, they produced Raphael. Ingres wished to imitate Raphael, and became Ingres. Cézanne wished to imitate Poussin, and thus became Cézanne. Dali wanted to imitate Meissonier and THE RESULT WAS DALI. Those who do not want to imitate anything, produce nothing. (Salvador Dalí, *Dali by Dali* 137, original emphasis)

In 1941, Dalí writes under the pseudonym Felipe Jacinto, in his essay “The Last Scandal of Salvador Dalí”: “Finished, finished, finished, a thousand times finished—the experimental epoch. The hour of individual creations is about to strike” (Finkelstein, *The Collected* 338). What appears to be a sudden epiphany is instead the culmination of a series of insights that leads the artist to abandon automatism and focus on developing a classical focus within his own pioneering surrealistic vision: paranoia and dream imagery. A few years later in 1946, Dalí partners with publisher Random House and its subsidiary, The Illustrated Modern Library, in New York to illustrate the fundamentally unique edition *The First Part of The Life and Achievements of the Renowned Don Quixote de la Mancha*.² (Fig. 1). The success of this unlikely creative pairing results from two mutually beneficial factors.

¹ Portions of this dissertation appear in my article “Salvador Dalí’s Everyman: Renaissance Classicism in *Don Quixote and the Windmills* (1946)” forthcoming in *Cervantes Journal*. See Holcombe.

² Hereinafter referred to as “the 1946 *Don Quixote*,” “Dalí’s 1946 *Don Quixote*,” “the 1946 text,” or a variation thereof.

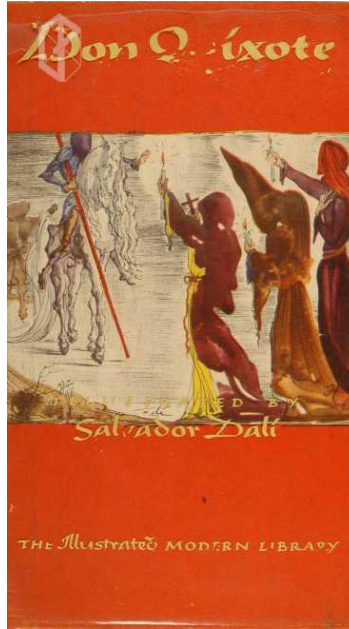


Fig. 1. Front Cover of the 1946 Random House / The Illustrated Modern Library Edition of *Don Quixote* Showcasing Dalí's *Don Quixote and the Penitents*. Designed by George Salter and illustrated by Salvador Dalí. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

First, Dalí illustrates a text that is widely considered a world classic, although this is not the first or last time Dalí illustrates texts. Dalí utilizes classic mythological imagery and Renaissance and Baroque classic methodologies, validating his classical trajectory—not because he illustrates a “classic” text but because he produces evidence of these classical images and methodologies in his illustrations—even though he does not receive contemporary critical acclaim for having achieved a classical hand in these illustrations.³

³ Analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5. It is essential to note that the images contained in the 1946 edition will later be incorporated into a 1957 edition of *Don Quixote* published by Joseph Foret in which Dalí expands his quixotic oeuvre with newly developed lithographic techniques. It is common to attribute the 1946 images to this later project in which Dalí utilizes lithographic stones and an antique shotgun to fire balloons of paint onto them. Dalí confirms: “Au cours de l'Été 1956, l'éditeur Joseph Foret débarqua à Port Lligat avec un chargement de très lourdes pierres lithographiques” [During the summer of 1956, editor Joseph Foret landed at Port Lligat with a cargo of heavy lithographic stones] (*Histoire*, “Pourquoi” par. 2, my translation). The ten color plates of the 1946 edition, which are offset watercolors (mechanically reproduced by metal

Second, a marketing decision pays off for The Illustrated Modern Library, itself created by Random House to publish a series of illustrated texts in the early-to-mid-1940s, by utilizing Dalí's high-quality and carefully contemplated illustrations for a mass-marketed, department store shelf-sized edition—one of many texts in their already-established series⁴—that utilizes an archaic translation considered by translator John Ormsby in 1885 as one of the worst colloquial English translations of *Don Quixote* in all of history: that of Peter Motteux in 1700-03.⁵ However, as will be revealed in Chapter 3, John Ozell's eighteenth-century revision of Motteux's 1700-03 translation that was used for the 1946 *Don Quixote* held pedagogical value for contemporary readers of the text.

In addition to Dalí's classical turn and his production of high-quality illustrations for the 1946 text, another important factor surrounding this text involves Dalí's public and private lives that are highly performative, and as such, serve both Dalí and his supporters in the United States with the sale of Surrealism in popular culture. Perpetually

offset machines), are sometimes called lithographs. The first three of these offset watercolors will be analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5. Note that Dalí does not utilize page numbers in this text. I refer to chapter names and paragraph or photograph numbers for reference when citing this text throughout the dissertation.

⁴ See Chapter 3 for a detailed description of this series and an explanation of the difference between Random House, The Modern Library, and The Illustrated Modern Library.

⁵ John Ormsby comments on Motteux's translation in his own Introduction to the 1885 translation *The Ingenious Gentleman Don Quixote of La Mancha* published in London by Smith, Elder & Co. and later illustrated by Enric C. Ricart in 1933: "A further illustration may be found in the version published in 1712 by Peter Motteux, who had then recently combined tea-dealing with literature. It is described as 'translated from the original by several hands,' but if so all Spanish flavour has entirely evaporated under the manipulation of the several hands. The flavour that it has, on the other hand, is distinctly Franco-cockney. Anyone who compares it carefully with the original will have little doubt that it is a concoction from Shelton and the French of Filleau de Saint Martin, eked out by borrowings from Phillips, whose mode of treatment it adopts. It is, to be sure, more decent and decorous, but it treats 'Don Quixote' in the same fashion as a comic book that cannot be made too comic" (2).

performing for shock value, in a 1966 interview with Alain Bosquet, Dalí exclaims: “I value death greatly. After eroticism, it’s the subject that interests me the most” (“Conversations” 29). Always cognizant of the impact his words and actions have on the public, Dalí often utilizes themes from his private life to shock the public, ensuring that at least someone is noticing him. Yet it is difficult at times to separate Dalinian performance from reality, reinterpreted history from historical fact. This includes his public return to Renaissance classicism in the 1930s and 1940s, a classical trajectory that spans decades, beginning with his earliest references to Renaissance classicism in his essays and other publications, to his temporary residence in the United States in the 1940s, and from his earliest training, through new techniques he will develop later in life as inspired by advances in physics and other sciences.

While the artist will continue to develop this classical trajectory until his death in 1989, our interest in following his use of classicism ends in the 1940s primarily because the focus of this dissertation is on the 1946 *Don Quixote* and not on subsequent editions he will illustrate later in his career. Indeed, Dalí will next illustrate *Don Quixote* in 1957, this time in Catalonia with illustrations that reflect a much higher level of surrealism.⁶ What value, then, does the focus on a single edition of a text hold for the foundation of a dissertation?

The answer begins with a search for historical fact among Dalí’s embellished reinterpretations, starting with Dalí’s history and associated sociopolitical issues

⁶ Certainly, the subject of future investigations. See Chapter 3 for Dalí’s harquebus methodology of firing balloons filled with paint towards lithographic stones (*Histoire*, “Du 6 Novembre” photos 23-30). This imagery does not contain the classical structure found in the 1946 illustrations and includes broad strokes of the paintbrush, for example.

surrounding the artist, and then culminates with how this history affects the material significance of the 1946 text, as well as its reception in mid-1940s North America. Finally, at the foundation of this dissertation lies the 400-year-old print history of illustrated, illuminated, or embellished editions of *Don Quixote* and whether both the text and Dalí draw inspiration from that history, challenge it, or are simply uninfluenced by this history. This dissertation contextualizes their roles within this print history and through its contemporary production and reception in 1946 North America.

The text represents the terminus of a trajectory within the Catalanian painter's life that begins with personal upheaval and sociopolitical oscillations in Europe and ends with the wildly successful popular culture reception of Surrealism, Dalí, his work, and his classical trajectory in post-World War II North America.⁷ An important component of this trajectory lies in Dalí's early affiliation with Communism that is overshadowed in the 1930s through a very public refocus on methodology—becoming classic. Dalí also abandons automatism as dictated by European Surrealism in favor of developing a paradigm shift in his methodologies and focus—the paranoiac-critical method. Dalí's "return" to Renaissance classicism—both in terms of iconology and methodologies—therefore constitutes a public smokescreen, or distraction, that allow Dalí to set the stage for his popular reception in post-World War II North America.

Specifically, in addition to personal and professional polemics surrounding Dalí throughout the 1930s, the Spanish Civil War and World War II position both the artist and his wife Gala to take advantage of exile in New York in the 1940s where Surrealism

⁷ For other referents framing the scope of this dissertation, see Chapters 3 and 4.

and the artist's sensationalized public antics were received enthusiastically in popular culture. As we will see, political polemics were glossed over, permitting Dalí's association with the marketing of modern art. Yet the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* represents an anomaly in the above statement about classicism utilized as a smokescreen because, as my art historical analyses reveal, the images Dalí creates contain valuable didactic qualities resulting from Renaissance and Baroque methodologies overlooked by contemporary readers and beholders of his illustrations.⁸

The purpose of this dissertation is to investigate the story of this unique text by analyzing Dalí's classical trajectory, how Dalí and the text were received in mid-twentieth century North America, and how Dalí and the text fit into the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*. In Chapter 2, we will analyze the sociopolitical issues and history surrounding the artist's concept of classicism, the development of his public persona, and his move to the United States. Additionally, analyses in that chapter reveal that Dalí sublimates his sexuality, channeling his sexual energy into his painting through desublimation.⁹ Chapter 3 will investigate the material significance of the 1946 edition by examining organizations, people, and circumstances that were necessary for its

⁸ Art historian David Freedberg in *The Power of Images* (1989) defines beholder response as "the symptoms of the relationship between image and beholder" (xxii). He explains that he uses this term "with regard to all images that exist outside the beholder [...] the active, outwardly markable responses of beholders, as well as the beliefs [...] that motivate them to specific actions and behavior. But such a view of response is predicated on the efficacy and the effectiveness (imputed or otherwise) of images" (xxii). The author concludes: "We must consider not only beholders' symptoms and behavior, but also the effectiveness, efficacy, and vitality of images themselves; not only what beholders do, but also what images appear to do; not only what people do as a result of their relationship with imaged form, but also what they expect imaged form to achieve, and why they have such expectations at all" (xxii).

⁹ The Merriam Webster Dictionary defines the verb to sublime as "to divert the expression of (an instinctual desire or impulse) from its unacceptable form to one that is considered more socially or culturally acceptable" ("Sublimate").

production in the United States. For example, the publication of Dalí's *Don Quixote* was delayed by one year due to shortages resulting from World War II and the complications facing Random House / The Illustrated Modern Library will be revealed. Additionally, we will analyze the text's contemporary reception by the North American popular culture, high art echelons of New York, and art critics.

Chapter 4 focuses on definitions of classicism and the manner by which Dalí achieves true Renaissance mythological classical imagery in the first watercolor illustration of the 1946 text, *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*. Although this image contains nude and semi-nude figures, there is no evidence of sexual desublimation in Dalí's imagery, as can be found in his paintings at the time he illustrates this text. Chapter 5 examines the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* and compares and contrasts Dalí and his illustrations with important thematic and methodological benchmarks set by illustrators within this 400-year period. Analyses of the second and third illustrations of the text, *Don Quixote and the Windmills* and *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*, reveal how Dalí forms the quixotic dichotomy of reality and fantasy in the singular pictorial compositions through the metaphoric gaze of an inanimate figure representing Don Quixote. Dalí renders the "real" protagonist as incapacitated, denying the composition themes presented in previous centuries through Don Quixote's own gaze and his heroic interpretation.¹⁰

Concomitantly, in Chapter 5, we identify and examine how Dalí renders Don Quixote as a deflated figure based in *burla* (mockery) and *engaño* (self-deception) in the

¹⁰ Future studies will compare Robert McRuer's concept of able-bodiedness and compulsive heterosexuality with Dalí's rendering of Don Quixote as incapacitated. See McRuer.

compositions of the second and third illustrations. The painter achieves this, as mentioned above, by negating protagonist Don Quixote's gaze within the compositions, yet without compromising his own personal, trademark surrealist style.¹¹ Further, by utilizing surrealism to portray fantasy in the composition of the third illustration while juxtaposing fantasy with the original burlesque reality, Dalí creates a new episteme within the genre of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* by focalizing fantastic madness as interacting with this burlesque reality. Based on my analyses in Chapter 5, I maintain that this represents Dalí's most important accomplishment in his role as an illustrator of *Don Quixote*. This achievement stands in stark contrast to French and English Romantics illustrators' universalized iconography that traditionally highlights the noble deeds of the knight errant. The value of analyzing and examining the material significance of a single text lies in didactic qualities such as these afforded by historical, literary, and art historical analyses. In other words, issues surrounding Dalí's accomplishments and the publication and reception of the text serve as a window upon various processes associated with the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*.

¹¹ The key to revealing a classical structure in Dalí's work lies first in showcasing his ability to apply his surrealistic style to book illustration without overshadowing classical themes and especially the "sacrosanct rules of symmetry" (Soby 28) that will be explored in Chapter 4. Second, his focus on Apollonian definitions of classicism, which indicate a rational rather than emotional focus on classical imagery, allows the blending of the two styles (Bishop and Stephenson 35). Applying surrealism to Cervantes, Helena Percas de Ponseti underscores surrealism as a modern concept that may be utilized to classify how Cervantes narrates "inner perceptions in graphic terms," thereby establishing a connection between the original narrative with modern painting techniques that produce similar results: "conceptual communication is always Cervantes's ultimate goal" (8). She cites André Breton's recommendation that surrealism be exemplified through Picasso's work. Yet Dalí is markedly absent from her analyses, underscoring Dalí's complete break with Breton and European surrealists' focus on automatism.

To understand the importance of these processes as specifically related to the 1946 text, one must first contextualize a series of circumstances that fell into place in the thirties and forties in Europe and the United States. While Random House / The Illustrated Modern Library in New York focus on publishing illustrated texts from the mid-1930s throughout the 1940s, Catalanian painter Salvador Dalí undergoes a major paradigm shift regarding his own methodologies. He breaks off his relations with European Surrealism and turns his back on regression and automatism to focus on a return to his artistic training, in his own words—to Renaissance classicism—to themes and forms based on ancient Greek and Roman iconography. He also begins to sublimate his sexuality, burying it to create oneiric imagery that is later desublimated, or manifested, through the rendering of pictorial, sexually fetishized figures in his paintings that are propitious to psychoanalytical analysis. Indeed, French art critic Sarane Alexandrian considered Dalí as “a Renaissance man converted to psychoanalysis” (103).

This representation of sensationalist Surrealism was targeted to North American collectors, art historians, and even to the masses by utilizing sensationalized surrealist imagery to sell consumer products. Dalí’s outlandish public persona ensured his high visibility and popularity that resulted in both the sale of these products and their subsequent categorization as kitsch. Conversely, Dalí’s book illustrations for the 1946 text were marketed towards the U.S. middle-class target reader audience, ironically comprised of what Motteux would have certainly understood as the “every man” as stated in the Translator’s Preface to his 1700-03 translation: “Every Man has something of Don Quixote in his Humour, some darling Dulcinea of his Thoughts, that sets him very often upon mad Adventures” (A5). Yet this was Random House / The Illustrated Modern

Library's target audience, not necessarily Dalí's, as will be revealed by the Dalí's—Salvador and wife Gala's—intense desire to sell Dalí's watercolors, but not necessarily the book.¹²

In the meantime, in mid-1940s North America, Dalí continues to very publicly define his unique surrealist methodologies through the development of dream imagery perfected through his paranoiac-critical method, validating his own personal development of classicism. While many of Dalí's illustrations from the forties were initially criticized for simply repeating imagery he had previously developed during the 1930s, as strongly maintained by Dalí biographer Ian Gibson, if one separates Dalinian paintings from his book illustrations, evidence of classical imagery and Renaissance classical methodologies are revealed in his illustrations for the 1946 *Don Quixote*. Further, one can find in Dalí's own writings a methodological and aesthetic paradigm shift in which he renounces his previous experimental works that utilized regression in favor of a classical trajectory.

As the epigraph above reveals, the artist later reveals in 1970 his specific artistic inspiration by French classicist painter Jean-Louis Ernest Meissonier. Dalí explains what it means personally to become classic:

To be classic meant that there must be so much of “everything,” and of everything so perfectly in place and hierarchically organized, that the infinite parts of the work would be all the less visible. Classicism thus meant integration, synthesis, cosmogony, faith, instead of fragmentation, experimentation, scepticism. (*Secret* 354)

¹² North American art critic Clement Greenberg comments on the relationship between class, culture, and art: “It is a platitude that art becomes caviar to the general when the reality it imitates no longer corresponds even roughly to the reality recognized by the general. Even then, however, the resentment the common man may feel is silenced by the awe in which he stands of the patrons of this art. Only when he becomes dissatisfied with the social order they administer does he begin to criticize their culture. Then the plebian finds courage for the first time to voice his opinions openly. Every man [...] finds that he is entitled to his opinion (“Avant-Garde” 18).

As expressed by Dalí in his essays, sexual sublimation comes to the fore as a prerequisite for the artist to become classic. In his later book *50 Secrets of Magic Craftsmanship* (1948), Dalí credits his wife Gala for this change in focus: “It was Gala who re-inspired the Renaissance of classicism which slumbered within me since my adolescence” (86).

Dalí’s meeting with Sigmund Freud is also used by Dalí as a public justification for his classical turn within the artist’s ongoing struggle to define his own Renaissance. Dalí’s break from European Surrealism could have meant a death blow for Dalí as a surrealist painter; instead, he utilizes his meeting with Freud, and through the declaration of sexual sublimation, Dalí is therefore free to pursue his own definition of classicism and his return to Italian Renaissance esthetics. Dalí explains:

The sexual instinct must be sublimated in esthetics; [...] Enough of denying; one must affirm. Enough of trying to cure; one must sublimate! [...] Instead of automatism, style; instead of nihilism, technique; instead of skepticism, faith; instead of promiscuity, rigor; instead of collectivism and uniformization-individualism, differentiation, and heirarchization; instead of experimentation, tradition. Instead of Reaction or Revolution, RENAISSANCE! (*Secret* 398)

When analyzing the three illustrations examined in this dissertation, one can view how Dalí redirects his sex drive into mature, more socially-acceptable pictorial manifestations—as compared with his paintings—through his embrace of Renaissance classicism. Form becomes his new focus and the artist rejects automatism as a surrealist technique, but not at the expense of surrealist and oneiric compositions. I maintain that, as a result, his illustrations for the 1946 text are thoughtful and demonstrate careful contemplation of the narratives they illustrate.

Further honing his skills, Dalí then focuses on Leonardo da Vinci¹³ and cosmogony,¹⁴ foreshadowing his later interest in the 1950s in quantum physics, contemplating the relationship between the Renaissance and the sciences: “Behold my strategic position: the left flank of my imagination has just contacted the right flank of my realism” (“Last” 337). The artist alludes to left-brain mathematical abilities vs. right-brain creativity through the mathematical ratios and proportions presented in 1498 by Luca Pacioli in the *De Divina Proportione* (50 Secrets 87). One can compare Dalí’s illustration “Harmonious Placement of the Male Model” (50 Secrets 124), for example, in which the artist studies angle, form, and line, with *Vitruvian Man* (1485-90) by Leonardo da Vinci to see how Dalí focuses on form and geometry. Dalí concludes: “Long live the roses of geometry, long live Vitruvius” (87).

The combination of Random House’s and Dalí’s classical foci is socially and culturally significant based on two fundamental factors. First, as Rachel Schmidt and Mark McGraw demonstrate, among others, Don Quixote as a visual concept has been immensely successful separate from Cervantes’s text (Schmidt xiii; McGraw 270). The universalization of quixotic iconography that began in the eighteenth century continues to this day, casting aside both the protagonists’ *engaño* and its comedic reception by seventeenth and eighteenth century Spaniards, to favor a universally noble and heroic knight as understood by his good intentions. As mentioned above, a universalized and

¹³ Dalí explains: “And from the problems of the physical kitchen of technique, I fell back into that ‘all’ that was the spirit of Leonardo” (*Secret* 383).

¹⁴ Dalí exclaims: “Cosmogony, cosmogony, cosmogony! The conquest of all, the systematic interpretation of all metaphysics, of all philosophy, and of all science, according to the fund of Catholic tradition which alone the rigor of the critical-paranoiac method would be capable of reviving” (*Secret* 383).

iconic Don Quixote inspires us to view the world as he sees it, romanticizing the heroic and dignified knight at the expense of the original comedic figure that evokes laughter. In both cases, translators and illustrators strive to make him understandable to their target readers and cultures (McGraw 269).

To that end, as McGraw observes, many translators successfully separate the protagonist from the text for political manipulation, personal economic gain, and even national tourism (270).¹⁵ Indeed, McGraw explains that readers may trace the history of the universalization of such iconography as either funny (Russell 312) or as pre- or post-Romantic (Bayliss 391), enabling two types of readings of *Don Quixote*—hard and soft (McGraw 272). A hard reading interprets protagonist Don Quixote as burlesque or satirical while a soft reading focuses on the protagonist as heroic and noble. McGraw's analyses are significant in that he expresses that one does not necessarily have to choose between the two readings, implying that Don Quixote is both heroic and satirical at the same time (270-72). McGraw clarifies that the soft, heroic reading is what “connects us personally to the knight and elevates him to the status of an icon” (274). The Motteux translation, because it focuses on theatricality of burlesque, creates what McGraw considers a hard read, underscoring its satirical tone, although there is no evidence Dalí read this translation before creating his illustrations.¹⁶

¹⁵ These parallel phenomena observed between translations and illustrations of *Don Quixote* constitute future detailed analyses. Regarding this theme in the eighteenth century, see Schmidt.

¹⁶ Based on evidence found at the Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation in Figueres, Catalonia, Carmen García de la Rasilla maintains that Dalí consulted an unillustrated 1943 edition of *Don Quixote* published by Austral to determine which passages he would illustrate. She notes that Dalí marked the text to indicate passages that were particularly visual and would best lend themselves to a surrealist interpretation (155). Additionally, she infers that he also consulted various illustrated editions, including the 1941 Random House edition illustrated by Mueller (154-55). Yet many

The second factor involves the print history of *Don Quixote* that, beginning in the eighteenth century, strongly links to issues surrounding Dalí's mid-twentieth century pairing with Random House. McGraw clarifies the historical precedent:

Beginning in the 1700's the publication of the *Quixote* took two generally divergent paths: one produced in cheap pocketbooks with prints of woodcut images, and the other in ornately formatted editions which took on the status of classics. By the mid-1700's small format Spanish editions of the *Quixote* were available and affordable for middle-class readers, published by Juan Jolis and later, Manuel Martín. These pocket editions of the *Quixote* published by presses like those of Jolis and Martín were made of cheap materials and were turned out in four small volumes of no more than fifteen by ten centimeters in size. (18)

McGraw explains that the cheap, smaller editions were editorially successful with large numbers, at least 30,000 being printed by the end of the eighteenth century (20). At the same time, larger and more ornate versions were produced in fewer numbers, destined for libraries or to private elitist collections in which the text was to be displayed rather than read (20). Later, in the 1770s and 80s, the two trends were merged to target an upper middle class target audience with great success, labeling the eighteenth century as what McGraw considers "a period in which the *Quixote* came to be universalized" (20-21). This is especially evident in eighteenth century English illustrated editions, such as the 1738 J. & R. Tonson Spanish language edition entitled *Vida y hechos del ingenioso*

questions regarding Dalí's knowledge of *Don Quixote* still present themselves at this point. For example, did Dalí ever read the entire text in any language? Did he utilize *Don Quixote* to reject or at least subdue surrealist and vanguard tropes in order to embrace the Renaissance's idealized Greco-Roman aesthetics? I maintain that this is not the case as Dalí's surrealist style does not impede his focus on classical aesthetics in certain color illustrations, including the one analyzed here. Yet one also wonders whether Dalí's decision to illustrate the 1946 Random House edition changed his visual understanding of the novel. As the result of any of these circumstances, as may be observed in the pictorial analyses at the end of this essay, Dalí seems to play with hidden textual references rather than simply rendering the most iconic moments of Cervantes's narrative as a methodological dumbing-down directed towards North American readers. All are vital themes for future continued analyses of the Cervantes-Dalí relationship.

hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha commissioned by Lord Carteret, the first deluxe illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* utilizing images by John Vanderbank.¹⁷

As classic literature and Greek and Roman iconography are quite popular both in New York cultural echelons and in publishing houses in general in the mid-twentieth century, Random House, The Modern Library, and The Illustrated Modern Library all focus on making classic texts available and accessible to the United States public in general, through the marketing of their unique respective formats and target audiences, even though paper is scarce immediately after World War II.¹⁸ Indeed, one recalls the major accomplishment Random House achieves by publishing James Joyce's *Ulysses* for the first time in the United States in 1934. Riding on this success, the publishing house creates The Illustrated Modern Library—not to be confused with The Modern Library—that begins to produce smaller editions of classic texts that could fit in one hand, and more importantly, could fit on a department store shelf. Courting the emerging middle class as a target reading public, the classics are therefore strategically taken out of the libraries and marketed to appeal to the North American everyman.

When considering the eighteenth-century print history, the sociocultural and material significance of the Random House and Dalí pairing rests in its power to

¹⁷ Schmidt in *Critical Images* (1999) highlights how classicism is associated with illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*. Additionally, she explains the graphic importance within eighteenth century deluxe editions whose satirical focus, in the end, canonizes the text within target cultures: “We see how the very attempt to champion *Don Quixote* as a worthy piece of literature required that the text be read as a discourse on abstract matters. In the visual medium of book illustration this approach manifested itself in allegorical frontispieces and classicizing portraits of the author” (xv).

¹⁸ Analyzed in Chapter 3.

challenge the tradition of universalizing quixotic iconography in mid-twentieth-century North America while offering uniquely surrealist reinterpretations of key textual passages. In other words, Dalí renders Don Quixote not as a universalized hero but as a deflated figure. Additionally, the roughly eighteen by twelve-centimeter hardcover edition¹⁹ combines the eighteenth-century concept of pocket texts for the masses—utilizing the hard read of Motteux’s English translation—with Dalí’s high-quality illustrations that appear to be deserving of a deluxe edition. Yet it is crucial to note the post-World War II paper shortage and, despite such hardships, how The Illustrated Modern Library became a popular publishing house through which the emerging North American middle class could enjoy classic texts.

The size of the Dalí edition from 1946 is explained because it was developed within this series of classic text publications, even though its lavish illustrations mark it as highly collectible. The hybridity of this text stands in sharp contrast even with Random House’s 1941 deluxe edition with woodcut illustrations by Hans Alexander Mueller, published only five years earlier. As the 1941 Mueller edition also utilized the Motteux translation, just as the 1946 edition by Dalí, as well as the 1930 reprint of the John Ozell revision published by the Modern Library in New York, at first glance, one can conclude that Random House simply had this translation on file and, because it was copyright free, used it as an infrastructure to support what would really sell the book—the illustrations.²⁰

¹⁹ Designed by German-American book cover designer George Salter. This was the standard size utilized by The Illustrated Modern Library for the series of illustrated texts published in their series.

²⁰ Although, as will be revealed in Chapter 3, the Motteux translation was viewed as a valuable didactic edition to educators in 1940s and 1950s North America.

While the ten color plates represent the greatest attraction for potential readers, functioning as the primary marketing attraction within the materiality and print history of the book, one would be remiss to overlook Dalí's thirty-one black and white sketches or vignettes placed strategically throughout the text.²¹ Stephen Miller notes that the mise-en-page issues surrounding the relationship between image and text in the 1946 Random House edition primarily reside with Dalí's color images because the images take up two pages and their placement may interrupt the reader. At the same time, the vignettes enhance the reading experience by illustrating the text around which they are placed (96).²² Concomitantly, McGraw affirms that the text itself serves as "little more than mortar to fill in the spaces between Salvador Dalí's forty-one artistic illustrations" (106). Either way, Dalí's vignettes successfully emulate Ibarra's 1780 Real Academia Española edition that includes sketches, a technique later perfected by Tony Johannot and Gustave Doré.

Dalí's highly skilled colorization of the illustrations also adds to their value and uniqueness. The colorful imagery, especially in the first color plate *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora* certainly would have added to the materiality of the text's mass appeal geared towards a general U.S. target reader population. Indeed, later reprinting would feature this image on the hard cover, recasting the same text as a deluxe

²¹ One recalls Ibarra's 1780 Real Academia Española illustrated edition that utilizes vignettes to satirize the universalized and Romantic Quixotic iconography produced in England and France, an edition that Schmidt considers the first to feature vignettes in this manner (129).

²² Future investigations at the Random House archives will reveal the history behind the mise-en-page relationship between image and text in this 1946 text.

edition.²³ Yet through the marketing efforts of The Illustrated Modern Library, Dalí's 1946 text modifies the traditional print history of *Don Quixote* from previous centuries—and even that of its own 1941 Mueller edition—by utilizing lavish illustrations for a pocket-sized text that traditionally would have been reserved for larger, collectible, deluxe editions.

Dalí eventually applies his interpretation of classicism to his illustrations of the Random House edition. Just four years earlier, upon his extended return to the United States until 1948, Dalí uses the Renaissance and classicism to justify his grand entrance onto the North American art scene: “[I]n this year of Spiritual Sterility 1941 there can still exist a being such as Dali, capable of continuing the conquest of the irrational merely by becoming classic and pursuing that research in *De Divina Proportione* interrupted since the Renaissance” (“Last” 334).²⁴ Certainly, equating himself with Leonardo da Vinci, who illustrated *De Divina Proportione*, reveals the hubris of his public persona and ego, the “Dalinian”—or Dalí's own anecdotal assessment of his oeuvre—he so carefully crafted, especially during this special era of potential economic opportunities offered by publishers such as Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library.

²³ In 1979, Abbeville Press Publishers reprints the 1946 Random House edition as a slightly larger text. Additionally, in 2004, Editorial Planeta publishes a boxed, collectible edition in Spanish edited by Martín de Riquer, with the same illustrations, but reproduced with considerably lesser quality ink. My own acquisition of this edition of the text initially inspired this dissertation.

²⁴ U.S. Surrealism expert Sandra Zalman clarifies that in order for Surrealism to have become popular in the United States, André Breton had to be disassociated with the artistic movement (26). Additionally, within New York's popular cultural and social imaginary, Surrealism successfully severed its previous association with Marxism (17). The focus therefore became visual rather than literary. Zalman concludes: “Instead of founder André Breton, or the universally respected Joan Miró, at the center of the movement in America, Dalí and his limp watches were advertised heavily” (26).

Finally, Zalman paints the historic backdrop for the economic stage from which its players, Salvador Dalí and the North American everyman, would benefit in the forties: “[I]n the 1930s, Surrealism was a site where high and low existed in a collaborative, rather than oppositional, dialogue, where avant-garde production mixed readily, if at times uneasily, with the vernacular, and as such, was actively absorbed into American mass culture” (11). As we will see, this at once contradicts art critics such as Clement Greenberg who consider Surrealism only as low art, and explains Dalí’s role in the North American Surrealism boom in the mid-twentieth century. Zalman also explains how New York’s Museum of Modern Art founder Alfred Barr, as a means of validating Surrealism within this potentially profitable target public: “presented Surrealism as a leading movement in avant-garde art” and “as a visual strategy that was both the culmination of a fantastic aesthetic tradition that stretched back five centuries and a continuation of daily culture” (11-13). Zalman underscores how Barr established and highlighted Surrealism’s direct connection with the Renaissance, ensuring Dalí’s success in his classical turn without abandoning his surrealist signature style. The stylistic and historical value of Dalí’s classical focus resides in the way the painter composes Renaissance classical aesthetics as complemented by surrealist tones and styles.

CHAPTER 2

SALVADOR DALÍ'S CLASSICAL TRAJECTORY

Whatever the future's judgment of Dali may be, it cannot be based solely on his accomplishments as a painter. From the very beginning of his career, he has striven to revive the Renaissance ideal of the artist as a man whose talents are applicable to the whole problem of esthetics. (James Thrall Soby, *Salvador Dalí* 29)

The year 1938 completely changes Catalan painter Salvador Dalí's life. He meets Sigmund Freud in London:

The day I went to visit Sigmund Freud in his London exile, on the eve of his death, I understood by the lesson of classic tradition of his old age how many things were at last ended in Europe with the imminent end of his life. He said to me, "In classic paintings, I look for the sub-conscious—in a surrealist painting, for the conscious." This was the pronouncement of a death sentence on surrealism as a doctrine, as a sect, as an "ism." But it confirmed the reality of its tradition as a "state of the spirit"; it was the same as in Leonardo—a "drama of style," a tragic sense of life and of esthetics. [...] And I remember with what fervor he uttered the word "sublimation" on several occasions. [...] The individual sciences of our epoch have become specialized in these three eternal vital constants—the sexual instinct, the sense of death, and the space-time anguish. After their analysis, after the experimental speculation, it again becomes necessary to sublimate them. The sexual instinct must be sublimated in esthetics; [...] Enough of denying; one must affirm. Enough of trying to cure; one must sublimate! [...] Instead of automatism, style; instead of nihilism, technique; instead of skepticism, faith; instead of promiscuity, rigor; instead of collectivism and uniformization-individualism, differentiation, and heirarchization; instead of experimentation, tradition. Instead of Reaction or Revolution, RENAISSANCE! (Dalí, *Secret* 398)

This meeting, while it surely fulfills the dream of a lifetime for Dalí—precisely because the artist has long deified Freud (Gibson 296) and because Surrealism itself is based on the subconscious, as epitomized by Freud's theories (Jakobson 1154)—it also potentially deeply disturbs Dalí. Freud, it would appear, has just threatened the future reception of

Surrealism as a subversive artistic practice due to his exclamation regarding the value of a conscious optic directed upon Surrealism as a direct antithesis of the subconscious.

From Dalí's description of this meeting, one of only a handful of accounts, the artist implies the precipitance of his own critical decision to blend his Surrealistic style with classic painting, rather than abandoning the subconscious altogether, liberating himself from what Dalí biographer, translator, and editor Haim Finkelstein considers in *The Collected Writings of Salvador Dalí* (1998) "a more restrictive formal and aesthetic orientation" (320). Further, the artist implies that he has made a sudden and crucial decision to liberate himself from overwhelming sexuality issues and feelings of impotence by sublimating his sexuality into what Dalí biographer Ian Gibson considers erotic self-denial (444).

Finkelstein observes in *Salvador Dalí's Art and Writing 1927-1942* (1996) that most of Dalí's essays written after the meeting with Freud in the late 1930s deals with the theme of liberation and that the artist struggles against patriarchal and parental issues such as "parental revenge" and the liberation "from the moral constraints of bourgeois society" (254). Dalí is seemingly forced to liberate himself from previous themes and methodologies that, up to that point, had limited the artist's growth within emotional, aesthetic, and philosophical frameworks, including psychoanalysis and the methodology of regression from European Surrealism.

Finkelstein shows us in *Salvador Dalí's Art* that Dalí had already begun these processes, first begins liberating himself from his own father, and then from his "new spiritual father," André Breton, who exemplifies the confining aesthetics of European "Surrealist orthodoxies" (254). Thus, Freud, whom Finkelstein considers yet another of

Dalí's "father figures," represents a third paternal rebellion that allows the artist to liberate himself from Freudian psychoanalytical limitations by "reading Freud against the grain, of juggling with Freud's concepts and reformulating his theory to Dalí's own ends" (254). Dalí's classical turn at that time represents freedom for the artist and a new aesthetic framework within which Dalí can explore paranoia by abandoning previous Surrealist aesthetics, political stances, and sexuality crises in favor of a new classical aesthetic justified by the action of Dalí meeting his dream god.

Dalí states in his autobiography *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (1942) that such a liberation constitutes a freedom that "is formlessness" (3), yet it inspires a structured and methodological approach to liberation and change. Dalí explains:

To be classic meant that there must be so much of "everything," and of everything so perfectly in place and hierarchically organized, that the infinite parts of the work would be all the less visible. Classicism thus meant integration, synthesis, cosmogony, faith, instead of fragmentation, experimentation, scepticism. (354)¹

Freud's pronouncement that he seeks conscious representations when approaching Surrealism inspires Dalí to exclaim: "This was the pronouncement of a death sentence on surrealism as a doctrine, as a sect, as an 'ism'" (*Secret* 397).

Dalí seeks in Renaissance classicism a thematic and esthetic liberation from all his previously confining personal issues, uniting his methodology and the potentiality of liberation. For example, Dalí justifies his repressed sexuality and art esthetics issues, such

¹ Haakon M. Chevalier comments on Dalí's classicism and focus on synthesis: "A more probing, troubled and moot question concerns Dalí's 'modernity.' His avowed effort to recapture the spirit and the technique of Raphael, Vermeer and other classics, his passion for deep perspective, his hostility to some of the more sensational modern trends in painting, his nostalgia for the Middle Ages and the Renaissance, his war on the mechanical aspects of modern life, all seem to stamp him as anti-modern and 'reactionary.' [...] But that this twin aspiration is genuine, that it corresponds to a deep and organic feeling for synthesis, I believe there can be no doubt" (viii-ix).

as abandoning regression, by declaring his desire to become classic. Yet classic in this sense also represents the freedom to pursue, as stated in the above quote, “integration, synthesis, cosmogony, faith, instead of fragmentation, experimentation, scepticism” (Dalí, *Secret* 354). His previously fragmented life based on skepticism and experimentation will now be integrated through synthesis, cosmogony, and a renewed publicly-declared support of Catholic orthodoxy. Hence, integration, synthesis, cosmogony, and faith perhaps best define Dalí’s paradigm shift towards classicism in the 1930s and 1940s as each of these themes will recur in his oeuvre for the rest of his life.

Yet all of this is fiction². Or, at the very least, as Gibson strongly opines, it represents a reinterpretation of events that conveniently allows Dalí to officially declare major changes regarding his classical methodologies (404). One can observe in Dalí’s writings from the early- to late-1930s that the artist had already conceived and expressed these aesthetic and methodological paradigm shifts. Dalí strategically uses the meeting with Freud as a public excuse to implement them. In other words, while Dalí’s recount of these events seem to be the result of cause and effect, meeting Freud and Dalí’s subsequent methodological changes and classical foci, one can more accurately categorize Dalí’s classical trajectory as exactly that, his own trajectory, regardless of any reaction to his meeting with Freud.

Yet the question remains as to what classicism means to Dalí. Before contextualizing the material and cultural significance of the 1946 Dalí and Random House edition of *Don Quixote*, and before analyzing Dalí’s classical hand in the first

² It is fiction because, as Gibson explains, Dalí recounts this encounter in a manner that favors himself and his career goals (xxvii).

three watercolor images from that edition, the historicity of how and why Dalí publicly embraces Renaissance classicism must be investigated. This chapter therefore analyzes the social, political, and artistic history that leads up to and guides how Salvador Dalí embraces classicism, tracing the beginning of his classical trajectory through his essays from the late 1930s and early 1940s, as well as through a collection of texts that address Dalí's classical turn, including Dalí's autobiography *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (1942).³ Accompanying criticism includes Ian Gibson's *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí* (1997), Haim Finkelstein's *The Collected Writings of Salvador Dalí* (1998) and *Salvador Dalí's Art and Writing 1927-1942: The Metamorphoses of Narcissus* (1996), and Carmen García de la Rasilla's *Salvador Dalí's Literary Self-Portrait: Approaches to a Surrealist Autobiography* (2009).

By attempting to define what classicism means to Dalí in this period, how he addresses the theme in his writings, and how this ambitious paradigm shift in the painter's methodology is received by critics, art historians, and the general population, I seek to fill this lacuna by revealing that the process is not a sudden epiphany in reaction to Freud; rather, the painter's methodological shift results from long-term retrospection

³ The exploration of how Dalí and his methodologies are affected by Freud's revelation is vital to analyses in Chapter 3, in which the material significance of the 1946 Dalí edition of *Don Quixote* is analyzed, and in Chapters 4 and 5, in which evidence of Renaissance classicism in the first three color illustrations of this edition is revealed. The present chapter explores the historicity behind the change in Dalí's methodologies towards becoming classic, in the sense of reduplicating Renaissance masters such as Da Vinci and Caravaggio, that potentially affects how Dalí illustrates *Don Quixote* in 1946. Chapters 4 and 5 will investigate how Dalí's edition fits into or challenges the print history of *Don Quixote* and the reinterpretation of Cervantes's narrative iconography.

and self-analyses throughout the 1930s and 1940s.⁴ Stated another way, Dalí's meeting with Freud did not suddenly inspire a classical focus that suddenly transformed the painter's methodologies at that very moment. Rather, Freud conveniently provides the justification Dalí seeks to implement his ever-building desire to create his own niche within Surrealism by focusing on classical painting techniques without reverting to automatism or abandoning subconscious elements, especially paranoia.

Dalí's classical turn also reflects a temporality, as his version of classicism later culminates and flourishes in post-World War II North America where interest in Surrealism in both high art and in popular culture parallels, and results from, the historicity of Dalí's "classical 'ambition'" (Finkelstein, *Salvador Dalí's Art* 227). This is due in part to Dalí's writings and public persona he so carefully crafted in these decades.⁵ Yet, as stated above, even though Dalí had already begun to contemplate a classical turn, none of this trajectory could have been remotely justified publicly within the world of Surrealism—to Dalí or to North America—had the artist not met with Freud in London.

⁴ Gibson explains that Dalí's early drawing instructor, Juan Núñez Fernández at the Figueres Instituto, whose interest in "Ribera, Rembrandt and, above all, Velázquez" was passed on to the adolescent Dalí (22-23). Gibson notes that Dalí had already sought surrealist precedents in classical seventeenth century engravings (341). Additionally, Gibson underscores Dalí's influence in narration by Rubén Darío and Dalí's appreciation of Goya, who "expresses 'the desires and aspirations of his people,'" and El Greco, who represents "pure spirituality." Dalí finds in Dürer and Goya "the beliefs and customs of [their] people" while in Leonardo da Vinci, Dalí recognizes that "he was the prototype of the 'Renaissance Man.' Perhaps most significantly, however, is that Dalí considers Velázquez as "one of the greatest" Spanish painters, especially appreciating his command of colors (Gibson 61-62). Dalí will eventually become renowned for his ability to manipulate color.

⁵ Gibson reveals that Dalí, since his adolescence and despite his debilitating shyness, perfected his ability to perform: "Asked a question in class, he would feign paroxysm in order to mask his embarrassment, shielding himself with his arms as if warding off some danger, or collapsing on his table. [...] Dalí's contemporaries often had difficulty in deciding when he was being 'serious' and when 'acting'" (56).

Specifically, even though Dalí was already pursuing classicism and the rendition of paranoid dreams before he met with Freud, the psychoanalyst provided Dalí with a much-needed public justification for a break with European Surrealism, regression, and automatism. Who better to provide such a justification than the father of psychoanalysis? When analyzing Dalí's classical trajectory, one must consider the fact that he had already begun his "return" to classicism before the 1940s.

Moving forward in Dalí's classical trajectory to the mid-1940s, an important question is whether Dalí successfully creates a classical hand in his artwork during the forties, specifically in the illustrations Dalí produces for the 1946 *Don Quixote*. After investigating in this chapter what classicism means to the artist and to the art world, Chapter 3 will focus on the material significance of Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote*, and how the artist and the edition were received in North America. Chapters 4 and 5 will address evidence of classical theme, line, form, composition, and pictorial narrative in three of Dalí's color plates from *Don Quixote* in 1946, as well as the role of Surrealism in North America that facilitated the meteoric rise of Dalí's career.

Classicism

Before analyzing classicism in Dalí's pictorial works, it is useful to define what classicism means to the artist, contemporary art historians, the general public, and other artists. Latin literature specialist Philip Russell Hardie explains in his entry "classicism" in the Oxford Classical Dictionary (2005) that the action of imitating previous authors' or artists' works deemed worthy of such imitation is not a new phenomenon; it has existed since ancient Greece:

The modern use of “classicism” to refer either to the art and literature of a period held to represent a peak of quality or perfection, or to the conscious imitation of works of such a period, derives from M. Cornelius Fronto's use of *classicus* (lit. ‘belonging to the highest class of citizens’) to denote those ancient writers whose linguistic practice is authoritative for imitators [...] referring both to the imitation of antique models and to more general stylistic choices. (Hardie, “Classicism” 322)

The tradition of designating an epoch, era, or artistic movement as “classic” then continues into the early decades of the Roman Empire. Hardie then traces this phenomenon into modern times, delineating how the term “classic” evolves into: “[A] period term (often with evaluative overtones), opposed to ‘Archaic,’ ‘Hellenistic,’ ‘baroque,’ etc. to refer in particular to the art and literature of 5th- and 4th-century BC Athens and of late republican and Augustan Rome” (“Classicism” 322).

Imitation therefore constitutes the core of classicism that is later observable in the Renaissance and later Neoclassical movements. In the High Renaissance, for example, artists and authors imitated ancient Greek and Roman authors and artists they deemed worthy of imitation, while late eighteenth- and early nineteenth-century Neoclassical artists continue this tradition, by way of imitating both Ancient artists and the classicists from the Renaissance (Hardie, “Classicism” 322).

For Dalí, imitation often means satire and Finkelstein explains how Dalí utilizes satire as a tool “for mocking the pretensions of others [...] to protect himself from being pinned down, to remove himself from clear commitment to any prescribed ideological stance” (*Salvador Dalí's Art* 244). Indeed, Finkelstein also delineates how Dalí utilizes this methodology both in his writings and in his plastic oeuvre to “cretinize” or “stupefy”

(*Salvador Dalí's Art* 245)⁶ the reader and beholder by fatiguing them, much as in the style of Surrealism's "prophet" Uruguayan born French poet Isidore Ducasse (1846-70) who wrote under the pseudonym Comte de Lautréamont (Black 6). Dalí illustrates Lautréamont's text, *The Songs of Maldoror Les Chants de Maldoror* (1869) in the Robert Skira edition in Paris in 1934 (Finkelstein, *Salvador Dalí's Art* 150).⁷

Dalí expert Montse Aguer comments in "Dalí y la fuerza de la imaginación" (2003) the high value Dalí placed on Renaissance classicism, both his plastic and narrative arts:

Artista en el sentido más amplio del término, en Dalí pintura y literatura son casi equivalencias. La referencia a la expresión horaciana *ut pictura poesis* es constante en el pintor ampurdanés. La relación entre lo poético y lo pictórico, tan propia de los artistas del Renacimiento, cobra un nuevo impulso con el movimiento surrealista, y Dalí se siente especialmente atraído por ella. (79)

⁶ In a contemporary review of a 1944 publication of this text by Albert Guérard from Stanford University in 1945, the reviewer underscores the sociocritical paradox presented by its publication the year before and its effect of stupefaction on its reader: "'Lautréamont,' I surmise, would have enjoyed the paradox of this publication, in this form, at this time. A world in travail—paper shortage too—and a gorgeous edition, boxed, gilt top, sinister black and faded framboise, with the single word *Maldoror* and its elusive aura of wickedness. [...] Art for Art's Sake, utter contempt of 'vague humanities' and their fortuitous antics, could hardly go any farther. [...] There can be no objective appreciation of Maldoror: professors are confounded, and critics are stilled" (192). This methodology designed to confuse the spectator can be compared with Caravaggio's baroque methodology that inspires beholders to prolong their gaze. This theme, as it relates to the illustrations of the 1946 Dalí edition of *Don Quixote*, will be investigated in Chapters 4 and 5.

⁷ This is significant because, for Dalí, illustrating texts, and classic texts in particular, is not a new phenomenon when he illustrates *Don Quixote* in 1946. By 1946, Dalí already had experience in the genre of text illustration through his experience with Lautréamont's text. In the same year as *Don Quixote*—1946—Dalí also illustrates Shakespeare's classic *Macbeth* for Doubleday & Company, as well as *Wine, Women and Words* by Billy Rose for Simon and Schuster. Additionally, the year before, Alfred Hitchcock asked Dalí to produce sets for the film *Spellbound* (1945), seeking Dalí's signature lighting distortions (Gibson 434). Although neither artist nor film director liked the results and the collaboration was terminated, Hitchcock's interest in the painter validates the existence of a structured, desirable, and potentially marketable Dalinian surrealist signature style.

Finkelstein explains his own interpretation of what “classic” means to Dalí, underscoring that Dalí casts regression aside to liberate his unique personal style from the confining and restraining definitions of European Surrealism:

More than anything else, Dali's “classical” ambition implied doing away with the formal and thematic concerns associated with the aesthetics of regression, as well as freeing himself from the tensions created by his attempt to balance the demands of his vision with the need to function within a prescribed theoretical context. (*Salvador Dali's Art* 227)

It is significant that Dalí seeks to liberate himself from pre-established methodologies within Surrealism, as delineated and developed previously by the European Surrealist movement. Dalí moves away from Surrealism's confining regressionist methodologies and creates his classical “stance” that Finkelstein considers as comprising “two sides of the same coin” (*Salvador Dali's Art* 227). In other words, Dalí publicly declares his classical ambition to move away from Surrealist regression.

Gibson explains that Surrealism later re-emphasizes automatism by looking backward towards the movement's roots, thereby “denying the advances achieved by [Dalí's] method” (396). Gibson concludes that without Dalí, Surrealism would have had to return to automatism because it represented “Surrealism's most genuine contribution to the liberation of the psyche” (396). Dalí's methodology moves away from European surrealist aesthetics towards classical aesthetics and the development of his trademark paranoiac-critical method.⁸

⁸ Finkelstein clarifies that Dalí's earlier focus on regression was an attempt to “mythologize [...] various psychoanalytical notions, Freudian and others. [...] Dalí's project of regression was motivated, in the early 1930s, by his perception of the struggle between the pleasure principle and the reality principle, or, in the terms proposed by Freud's libido theory, the opposition between the ego-instincts and the sexual instincts” (*Salvador Dali's Art* 232-33).

Finkelstein specifically addresses in *Salvador Dalí's Art* the most significant polemic associated with Dalí's classical ambition: the differentiation between simply referring to classical Renaissance art, which "abound[s] in his writing and art in the late 1930s, after he made several visits to Italy" (247) and the "stylistic direction actually adopted by Dalí around that time [that was] quite removed from his 'classical' ambition" (247). Finkelstein explains:

Nevertheless, the desire for a change of direction and a change in style is already in evidence in his writing of the time. It would be something of a truism to argue that this desire implies a perception on his part that he should cater to the tastes of his new American collectors. Yet, it derived no less from his quite justified intuition that his earlier aesthetics were no longer valid for him because their underlying motivation was no longer in effect. The new style he was desperately searching for implied a creative attitude that reversed in many respects his earlier and, by now quite failing, aesthetics. The two texts discussed earlier ["The Last Scandal of Salvador Dalí" and *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí*] are, in this respect, even more important for the light they shed on Dalí's awareness of these failings. No doubt, much of what he lists as things that are "finished, finished, a thousand times finished" refers largely to his own former aesthetics. (*Salvador Dalí's Art* 248)

In 1966 Dalí offers art history a means of categorizing this new aesthetic: "Art history must therefore be refurbished in accordance with the method of 'paranoid-critical activity'; according to this method, such apparently dissimilar paintings as Leonardo's *Mona Lisa*, Millet's *Angelus*, Watteau's *Embarkation for Cythera* actually depict the very same subject matter, that is to say, exactly the same thing" ("The Conquest" 117). The return to classicism for Dalí represents the continuation of a trajectory of reflection, self-awareness, and the desire to change his previously limiting aesthetics into a new

Renaissance classical aesthetic that the painter fully intends to implement in the United States.⁹

Dalí Narrative and Criticism

In general, what art historians know about why Dalí embraced Renaissance classicism in the 1930s and 1940s is gleaned from the artist's own narrative, especially his essays from the late thirties and early forties and his books from the forties, primarily his autobiography *The Secret Life of Salvador Dalí* (1942). Additionally, his subsequent text *50 Secrets of Magic Craftsmanship* (1948) offers some personal insight onto the process of becoming classic. The text *50 Secrets* was written after Dalí illustrates *Don Quixote* and offers mostly a retrospective reinterpretation of events,¹⁰ while *The Secret Life* contains valuable insight into the process of becoming classic—as it was happening.

Yet some critics such as Gibson and Finkelstein believe that any information presented by the artist in his autobiography should be taken with a grain of salt. For example, Gibson states in *The Shameful Life* that “Dali is not a trustworthy source of information about himself” (xxvii). Additionally, Gibson underscores that Dalí's wife Gala was the editor of all of Dalí's writings, commenting on a perceived reinterpretation, in hindsight, of Dalí's history by the artist in his autobiography: “The driving purpose of the *Secret Life* is to present Dali as a mixture of ambitious-child-made-good-at-thirty-

⁹ Including the 1946 Dalí edition of *Don Quixote*.

¹⁰ As noted in the introduction to this dissertation, in *50 Secrets*, Dalí creates imagery such as “Harmonious Placement of the Male Model” (124) that imitates mathematical ratios and angles in Leonardo da Vinci's *Vitruvian Man*. The mathematical angles are crucial in analyzing Dalí's first three color illustrations of *Don Quixote*.

seven” (406-07). Gibson further clarifies his view of Dalí’s autobiography as fiction: “Whatever its other qualities, the *Secret Life* is not concerned with rigorous autobiographical truth. On the contrary, it goes out of its way to distort it, becoming, in the process, a biographical minefield” (xxvii). Finkelstein highlights the duality that Dalí’s public persona and polemics create in his readers and spectators: “The mad Dalí and the lucid Dalí, the clown and the serious thinker, chase each other in a circle and it is impossible to tell where one ends and the other begins” (*Salvador Dalí’s Art* 246). Dalí’s validity and accountability as a writer are challenged by his oscillation between a clown who rewrites his own history and a serious thinker who places historically relevant information in a surrealist narrative.

Gibson’s work is perhaps best considered literature rather than biography due to the large amount of conjecture and implied connections made by the author, as expressed in a contemporary review of Gibson’s text by Manuel Rodríguez Rivero, “Todo es hermoso después y otras quejas (editoriales)” (1997). Rodríguez Rivero comments on the genre of biography in general, emphasizing the influence by British and French authors on that genre within Spain as a national and cultural intrusion:

En cualquier caso, lo cierto es que aquí se editan pocas biografías y no se reeditan casi nunca las viejas, [...] Me consuelo con la lectura de la apasionante *The Shameful Life of Salvador Dalí*, de Ian Gibson, en la que el hispanista irlandés vuelve a hacer gala (nunca mejor dicho) de una competencia como biógrafo que corre pareja con su capacidad para la amenidad y el nervio narrativo: justo lo que le envidian los que le consideran un intruso. La biografía será probablemente editada en España aunque, por lo que voy leyendo, les garantizo que no les va a gustar nada, pero nada, a los de la Fundación Gala-Salvador Dalí de Figueras. (29)

Gibson portrays Dalí as “a shame-driven personality” (xviii) and it seems that much of the biography is conjecture and hindsight, which explains Rodríguez Rivero’s opinion

that no one at the Gala-Salvador Foundation likes Gibson's biography of Dalí.

Conversely, one can also argue that much of Dalí's later narrative was also written in hindsight, potentially contextualizing Gibson's text as an extension of Dalí's own narrative style.

For example, through the utilization of first-hand testimony in an interview with the artist in January 1986, Gibson addresses Dalí's bisexuality and relationship with poet Federico García Lorca, communicating Dalí's own words on the subject: "Dali, it transpired, desperately wanted to convince me that his great friend Federico García Lorca had loved him sexually, not merely 'platonically', and to ensure that I made this clear in the second volume of my biography of the poet" (xviii). Even though Gibson's biography consists of such non-documentable interjections, it represents one of the most significant efforts to reconstruct Dalí's inner workings and social underpinnings by including such important connections, such as those involving García Lorca.¹¹

Carmen García de la Rasilla is one of the most important authors affording analyses about Dalí as an author, his autobiography, and the history of his illustration of the 1946 *Don Quixote*.¹² The author clarifies the historic versus fictitious content of Dalí's autobiography in her text *Salvador Dalí's Literary Self-Portrait* (2009). García de la Rasilla begins her analyses by stating that most Dalí investigators intend to utilize the

¹¹ For this reason, this chapter will heavily cite Gibson, as well as Finkelstein and García de la Rasilla, to help delineate Dalí's classical ambition.

¹² See García de la Rasilla's essay "El *Quijote* surrealista de Salvador Dalí" for detailed analyses of the historical documents in the Dalí-Theatre Museum in Figueres, Spain regarding Dalí's illustration of *Don Quixote* for Random House in 1946. This is a key text that regarding how the painter establishes a methodology to illustrate *Don Quixote*, especially regarding which passages of Cervantes's text he would illustrate, and the painter's careful reflection upon the mise-en-page placement of the color illustrations within the text.

artist's autobiography to psychoanalyze or to "unravel the artist's life and identity" without taking into consideration the genre of autobiography (15).¹³ Specifically, she highlights the "provocative and often parodic devices with which Dalí successfully thwarted critics" (15). Additionally, just as Finkelstein, she recognizes the value of ekphrastic narrative found in his autobiography that serve as a "source for evaluating his pictorial and literary production" (García de la Rasilla, *Salvador Dalí's* 109).

More importantly, however, García de la Rasilla interprets the value of Dalí's *The Secret Life* as insightful, intending to provide her readers, through her own research into Dalí's autobiography, "with a coherent critical itinerary to navigate the dense web of personal and collective symbols and paradigms, generic quirks, and inter-textual allusions with which Dalí constructs the story of his life, in order to avoid reductionist interpretations as well as the scandalized and/or pathologizing reactions that have up to now prevailed" (*Salvador Dalí's* 15). She underscores the ability of an attentive reader to perceive Dalí's autobiography as outside of the traditional canon of autobiography as established by St. Augustine through "its hybrid parodic narrative [that] challenges the

¹³ The role of criticism within the genre of autobiography is significant to the analyses of this chapter. For example, the issue of artist as author and critic evokes Oscar Wilde's "The Critic as Artist" (1891) in which the relationship between criticism and autobiography is revealed through a dialogue between Ernest and Gilbert. Gilbert declares: "I would call criticism a creation within a creation. For just as the great artists, from Homer and Aeschylus, down to Shakespeare and Keats, did not go directly to life for their subject-matter, but sought for it in myth and legend, and ancient tale [...] I would say that the highest Criticism, being the purest form of personal impression, is, in its way, more creative than creation, as it has least reference to any standard external to itself, and is, in fact, its own reason for existing, and, as the Greeks would put it, in itself, and to itself, an end. [...] That is what the highest Criticism really is, the record of one's own soul. It is more fascinating than history [...] It is the only civilized form of autobiography, as it deals not with the events, but with the thoughts of one's life; [...] but with the spiritual moods and imaginative passions of the mind" (Wilde 154).

foundations and principles of the genre and becomes a counter-canonic text within the Western autobiographical tradition” (*Salvador Dalí’s* 39).¹⁴

Additionally, Dalí’s atemporal approach to the autobiography genre is perhaps most challenging to the text’s validity in reader reception. García de la Rasilla explains:

The Secret Life seemingly retains many of the conventions of autobiography—it follows a temporal linearity that goes from his birth, childhood, puberty, adolescence and early adulthood to middle age—yet the careful reader will nevertheless perceive the subversion carried out against this same orderly evolution of vital time. [...] It almost seems as if the author’s awareness of the present overwhelms the past in such a way that he is right from the start of his work the great Salvador Dalí. (*Salvador Dalí’s* 92)

Indeed, García de la Rasilla challenges how Finkelstein, Gibson, and art historian Carter Ratcliff compartmentalize Dalí’s writings, life, and plastic oeuvre by linking themes such as classicism with the painter’s previous works.¹⁵

García de la Rasilla’s observation that Dalí’s classical turn is not a new phenomenon in the 1930s and 1940s, but rather can be traced back to the 1920s, is one of the most important links that relate to this dissertation chapter:¹⁶

¹⁴ One can extend this line of thought to Dalí’s illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote*. Dalí finds his own niche in the print history of traditionally canonical illustrated editions of Cervantes’s most famous text through diegetic narrative between pictorial reality and fantasy.

¹⁵ Finkelstein divides Dalí’s writings into two distinct units, separated into earlier works from the 1920s through the early 1940s (*Salvador Dalí’s Art* 3) and art critic Carter Ratcliff maintains that Dalí creates an “esthetic of the mouth” that is utilized throughout his career (36). Gibson considers these early texts essential to any Dalí biography but concludes that they should “be treated with ever-vigilant scepticism” (xvii).

¹⁶ García de la Rasilla and Soby provide evidence that Dalí’s interest in Renaissance classical masters was not a sudden phenomenon. Whether it occurred due to capitalistic means to an end within post-World War II North America remains to be seen. Additionally, as Fèlix Fanés has maintained, Dalí begins constructing a legacy in the 1920s through erudite essays and scandalous discourse that transform the painter into a legend that he later revolutionizes through his classical ambition (Fanés, *Salvador Dalí* 215). These perspectives are crucial in establishing the argument that Dalí did achieve a classical hand in his work produced in the 1940s.

[A]s early as 1922, when he participated for the first time in an exhibition with eight works that clearly showed a connection with the great masters of European painting. In fact, many of the literary and aesthetic traits of *The Secret Life*, such as its combination of avant-garde and traditional discourses, of bad taste, scandalous tone, and complex erudition, as well as pathological confession and parodic humor, matured in those crucial years of his artistic formation. (*Salvador Dalí's* 16)

Dalí's classical connection with Renaissance aesthetics is not only found in his writings but also in his plastic oeuvre. This relates most directly to Dalí's works produced in the 1940s, including his edition of *Don Quixote* for Random House in 1946.

Dalí and Freud

Most what the world knows about Dalí's meeting with Freud is provided by Dalí himself. Whether the artist's narratives constitute a true historic testimony—despite their element of fiction—is not entirely clear, although as stated above, some scholars believe that Dalí's later writings, from the late 1930s and later, should be contextualized as fiction and not taken seriously. However, one can glean from Dalí's writings that he most likely takes away from his meeting with Freud a sense of urgency to abandon automatism as a subconsciously-inspired creative methodology within Surrealism in favor of developing a classical personal style. Concomitantly, cause and effect can be excluded from our analyses—Freud as the cause of Dalí's subsequent turn to classicism—because Dalí had already established a classical trajectory since the early 1930s; he likely embraced Freud's perspective that the subconscious must now be explored through

classicism and classic paintings because it conveniently justified what the artist was already doing.¹⁷

Indeed, as Dalí mentions in the first large quote of this chapter, the artist understood the demise of Surrealism as an “ism” as a call to arms to develop a personal style that would ensure the continued success of Surrealism as an artistic movement. Dalí, upon his return to New York in 1940, announces to the public not only his “return to classicism” (Aguer 80) but also that his upcoming autobiography would “chart his progress from Surrealist *enfant terrible* to saviour of modern art” (Gibson 404), clearly wielding his public persona—and Freud—as tools to garner fame, fortune, and acceptance for both himself and Surrealism as a movement.¹⁸

While equating Surrealism’s “state of the spirit” with Leonardo da Vinci and his “drama of style,” one can infer, on one hand, that Dalí links Surrealism’s ideology with Renaissance masters’ techniques, such as in the “tragic sense of life and of esthetics.” On the other, “spirit” here alludes to the subconscious onto which Freud had supposedly

¹⁷ Of course, Dalí utilizes the meeting to validate his classical ambition, sublimation of his sex drive, and especially his economic focus on selling Surrealism to North Americans who likely do not understand the European definition. Specifically, Dalí dumbs down Surrealism by way of attaching a classical approximation to Surrealism as a movement so that it would sell in North America (Gibson 404).

¹⁸ Gibson observes that Dalí maintains his classical stance throughout the 1940s (444) and that later in the decade, when the painter and his wife Gala return to Spain, Dalí wishes to be known as the savior of Surrealism. They also sought to fit in to Franco’s Spain primarily through their return to orthodox Catholicism: “Early in July 1948, after their accumulated belongings had been packed into dozens of crates and prepared for shipment to Barcelona along with the Cadillac, the couple embarked for Le Havre. Dali must have felt, given his loudly proclaimed return to orthodoxy, that he was in a strong position to be welcomed in Franco’s Spain. And no doubt he had thought carefully about what he was going to say to the Spanish press after his long absence. Of one thing he must have been fully aware: in the conformist Spain that had emerged nine years earlier from a terrible civil war even Salvador Dali Domènech, the Saviour of Modern Art, would have to watch his step” (445).

issued a death sentence. Concomitantly, “tragic sense of life” alludes to Surrealism’s historic support of Marxist ideology, which would prove to be problematic and polemic with North American art history academics later in the 1940s.

Gibson further explains how Dalí announces in 1940 that the surrealist movement is dead and that his next logical step must be a return to classicism (404). This is a highly staged and strategic move designed to sell copies of his autobiography that, in turn, was designed to explain his drastic stylistic change to North Americans who would not, in the end, understand his Surrealism (404). Gibson underscores that Dalí strategically separates himself from the Spanish Civil War, the death of poet Federico García Lorca, and the anticlerical film *L’Age d’or* (1930) to ensure such a lucrative relationship with North Americans (407).

Surrealism expert Sandra Zalman emphasizes that it is important to distinguish between European and North American concepts of Surrealism, noting that for Europeans, “Surrealism was not only overtly political, its political activity was a strategy for maintaining an avant-garde status, where aesthetic innovation and rebellion threatened to turn the avant-garde into a tradition itself” (17). In the United States, Zalman explains that especially in New York, Surrealism was successfully “divorced in the public eye from its engagement with Marxism,” but this was not the case for the rest of the country (17).¹⁹

Dalí seems to have brilliantly anticipated such a negative reaction by rechanneling or overshadowing Surrealism’s fundamental Communist ideology with classicism as a

¹⁹ This is an important political factor that affects not only how Dalí adopts classicism as part of his methodologies but also the reception of *Don Quixote* by the emerging middle class in 1946 North America as illustrated by Dalí, historically a supporter of Communism.

means of distracting his readers and viewers of his plastic oeuvre from Surrealism's basic tenet that focuses on the everyman. Such a rechanneling is made possible by Dalí's abandonment of all limiting factors listed above because, very conveniently, Sigmund Freud was not interested in the surrealist subconscious.

Janine Burke in *The Sphinx on the Table* (2006) provides an account of the Dalí-Freud meeting by citing André Breton as well as Dalí's autobiography. She reveals various publications by Breton that convey both Dalí's and Breton's recollections of Freud, underscoring a tenuous relationship between Freud and the art world, and at times, misunderstanding on the part of Dalí. Specifically, Burke cites Breton's article "Interview with Professor Freud" (1922) and other key texts, such as *The Diary of Sigmund Freud, 1929-1939: A Record of the Final Decade* (1992) and Ernest Jones' *The Life and Work of Sigmund Freud, Vol. 3* (1953).

Drawing upon Breton's writings, Burke clarifies that a much earlier meeting with the French writer did not go well due to Breton's unflattering description of Freud: "a not very attractive little old man, who receives one in the somewhat shabby offices of a general practitioner" (Breton, "Interview" 63). Freud, an avid art collector, denied Breton access to his collection (Burke Kindle Locations 4599-4600). Burke then explains Freud's negative perception of the European Surrealists in general: "The Surrealists were not interested in psychoanalysis as treatment but in a poetic and anarchic pillaging of its treasures: the dream, the unconscious and the libido. Freud was a revolutionary force and the Surrealists owed him a great deal, as Breton was keen to point out in the first Surrealist manifesto" (Kindle Locations 4604-06).

However, Dalí fared better in his meeting with Freud, which included Stefan Zweig, although in his autobiography, Dalí recounts that Freud said to Zweig: “I have never seen a more complete example of a Spaniard. What a fanatic!” (Dalí, *The Secret Life* 25). Burke concludes that this is most like a misunderstanding, defending the integrity of Freud as a Viennese gentleman:

Could Freud have been guilty of such a gaffe? It is unlikely a Viennese gentleman would utter such an uncouth remark in the presence of a guest. In fact, as Freud told Zweig by letter the next day, he was impressed by “that young Spaniard, with his candid fanatical eyes and his undeniable technical mastery,” making him change his opinion of the Surrealists. Perhaps, when Zweig relayed Freud’s comments to the anxious, sensitive artist, he misunderstood them and believed he had been criticized. (Kindle Locations 4648-51)

Misunderstanding notwithstanding, it is significant to note that Freud was impressed by Dalí, as evidenced by Ernest Jones, who recounts Freud’s reaction to Dalí’s painting *Metamorphosis of Narcissus* (1937) that the painter showed to Freud: “It would indeed be very interesting to investigate analytically how [Dalí] came to create that picture” (Jones 235).

It is also significant to underscore two of Freud’s writings on homosexuality, “On Narcissism” (1914) and “Leonardo da Vinci and a Memory of his Childhood” (1910), whose themes can be traced in Dalí’s writings. Regarding the former, Burke explains how Freud comments on “the neuroses of self-love” and his thoughts on homosexuality: “Homosexuals, Freud argued, sought ‘their own selves’ as their love object because their libidinal development had suffered a disturbance” (Kindle Locations 4639-40). In the latter, Burke states:

In *Leonardo*, he wrote that homosexuals had repressed the love for their mother by “running away from other women.” What did the self-mythologising Dalí, married but drawn to homoerotic male friendships, make of that? Perhaps

unsurprisingly, his depiction of the myth redeems Narcissus and subverts Freud's theory. From Narcissus' introspection and self-absorption, fresh life and energy is generated in the form of a pure, white flower, a triumphant image of the creative process. (Kindle Locations 4640-44)

Gibson adds to this list by noting Freud's *Three Essays on Sexuality* (1905), "Psycho-Analytic Notes on an Autobiographical Account of a Case of Paranoia" (1925), and *The Interpretation of Dreams* (1899) in which Freud refers to narcissism as "the unbounded self-love of children" (Gibson 372). Gibson extends his opinion that Dalí must surely have been surprised to learn that "Freud interprets paranoia as a defense against homosexuality" (372). Further, Gibson declares: "Given Dali's fear of homosexuality, now fused with his fear of paranoia, it comes as no surprise to find allusions to Lorca in the poem *Metamorphosis of Narcissus* and, by extension, in the picture of the same name" (373). One can trace Freud's words in Dalí's writings and art, as in *Metamorphosis of Narcissus*, through the sublimation of his self-proclaimed sexuality issues. The question remains as to whether Freud's words inspired Dalí to act or react in a certain methodology or esthetic or whether Dalí utilized Freud and his words simply as publicity tools. Given the exceedingly high level of energy that Dalí instilled in his public persona and social antics, it is most likely that the latter is true.

Sublimation: Sexuality, Penis Size, and Federico García Lorca

Regardless of whether Dalí was inspired by Freud or whether he used their meeting as a publicity stunt, the artist subsequently officially implements the first radical change in his methods, including the declaration that the sex drive and the fear of death must be sublimated in his work. The words "denying" and "cure" in Dalí's first quote in

this chapter suggest that the artist is tired of denying and trying to cure his homosexuality or bisexuality. Sublimating his sex drive presents a solution to the artist he had been seeking for decades regarding paternal issues, his lack of power, impotence, fear of venereal disease, repugnance for the female genitalia (Gibson 281),²⁰ and attraction to Federico García Lorca (Gibson xviii). Gibson relates in a conversation he had with Dalí's close friend Nanita Kalaschnikoff in Figueres on August 1995: "Sexuality for him was always a monster and he never overcame the anxiety it produced in him. [...] That was his tragedy" (313).

James A. Parr in "The Body in Context: Don Quixote and Don Juan" (1996) offers sexuality and sublimation analyses of *Don Quixote*, concluding that protagonist Alonso Quijano sublimates his sexuality in reaction to the adverse society in which he lives. One can certainly say the same about Dalí. Parr clarifies: "Neurosis and sublimation go hand in hand, of course. They are complementary but not synonymous. Culture and "Dulcineism" require sublimation, however, and *are* essentially synonymous with it" (Parr 120). Further, Parr notes that a viable characterization of Don Quixote "surely invites the label of masochist" through "his predilection for placing himself in harm's way, along with his abstinence from both food and sex" (123). Parr also notes a

²⁰ Sigmund Freud develops the concept of fear of castration in "Fetishism" (1927), indicating that fetishism saves a man from becoming homosexual upon viewing the female genitalia "by endowing women with the characteristic which makes them tolerable as sexual objects" (206). Freud elaborates: "Probably no male human being is spared the fright of castration at the sight of a female genital. Why some people become homosexual as a consequence of that impression, while others fend it off by creating a fetish, and the great majority surmount it, we are frankly not able to explain. [...] we do not yet know those which are decisive for the rare pathological results" (206-07).

sadistic side to the protagonist through his “violence towards Sancho” and “the more subtle struggle to obliterate the Other” (123).

Regarding “Dulcineism,” Parr refers to Arthur Efron’s book *Don Quixote and the Dulcineated World* (1971) in which the author postulates:

The fictional reality that Cervantes makes apprehensible in his complex way is one in which what I call *Dulcineism*, or *the belief that human life is satisfactorily conducted only if it is lived out in close accord with prescribed ideals of the received culture*, has succeeded in capturing and enfeebling its many adherents. Dulcineism is thus a name for some of the broadest effects of acculturation. By it I mean to indicate all those effects in which human choice is pointed toward a predetermined conformity with set patterns of thought, emotion, or behavior and is conceptualized in sharply outlined ideals, such as chastity, marital fidelity, justice in accordance with fixed rules, loyalty to one’s social class, courage and suffering as automatically positive values, and, finally, an unquestioning faith that underlies continued adherence to the whole complex of accepted ideals. (11, original emphasis)

Parr notes Hungarian psychoanalyst Géza Róheim’s observation that “a neurosis isolates; a sublimation unites” (Parr 121), when considering how Alonso Quijano reacts to his adversarial society. Parr concludes:

As Alonso Quijano, he might be said to sublimate by channeling sexual energy into hunting, reading, and, occasionally, administering his estate [...] When his brain overheats and dries up—when obsessional neurosis takes over, in today’s terms—he will continue to sublimate (and repress) in conformity with the demands of society, as Efron has shown, but there is decidedly a transformation, and the emblem of that reconfiguration is surely Dulcinea. Through this parody of the *belle dame sans merci*, [...] the woman distanced and unattainable—figuratively on a pedestal—we witness a transfiguring of sexuality into a more diffuse and abstract Eros, with a withdrawal from the social in order to pursue a private agenda, and the obvious flight from reality. (121)

One can therefore establish a precedent regarding sexual sublimation within *Don Quixote* that continues to resonate during Dalí's life, especially at the time Dalí illustrates the text in 1946.²¹

Gibson notes that in *The Tragic Myth of Millet's Angelus: Paranoiac-critical Interpretation Including the Myth of William Tell* (1986),²² Dalí blames his mother for his impotence, through a false memory of her performing fellatio on him (Gibson 312). One can view Freud's Oedipus Complex, whether real or constructed, in Dalí's writings as well as in his plastic art, such as *Meditation on the Harp* (1932-34) that Gibson considers the visual epitome of this complex. Gibson further explains that Dalí is only ever able to achieve orgasm through masturbation (72) and that he suffered from premature ejaculation (74). Gibson also declares that Dalí "became the only painter in the history of art to make masturbation a major theme of his work" (72).

In his own translation of a passage from Dalí's "Comment on Deviant Dalí" (1973), Gibson reveals how the painter comments on his small penis size, impotence, and fear of debilitating venereal disease:

At the time I was suffering from two obsessions that paralysed me. A panic fear of venereal disease. My father had inculcated into me a horror of the microbe. This deep anxiety has never left me, and has even driven me to bouts of madness. But, above all, for a long time I experienced the misery of believing that I was impotent. Naked, and comparing myself to my schoolfriends, I discovered that my penis was small, pitiful and soft. I can recall a pornographic novel whose Don Juan machine-gunned female genitals with ferocious glee, saying that he enjoyed hearing women creak like watermelons. I convinced myself that I would never be able to make a woman creak like a watermelon. And this feeling of weakness ate away at me. I tried to hide the anomaly, but often I was the victim of inextinguishable attacks of laughter, hysterical, even, which were a sort of proof

²¹ Highlighting the bifurcation between reality and fantasy in Dalí's life.

²² Originally written in French as *Le mythe tragique de l'Angélus de Millet* (1963).

of the disturbances that agitated me profoundly. (Dalí, cited in Gibson 73, translation by Gibson)

The lack of the potentiality for creaking aside, Dalí clearly suffers from a malady of sexuality issues and the artist considers their dysfunctionality as originating from external sources. For example, Gibson also credits Dalí's father, Salvador Dalí Cusí, with instilling in his son a fear of venereal disease by leaving "a medical book" with photographs of the disease on the family piano (74). Dalí sublimates all aspects of sexuality as a manner of not having to deal with them anymore and utilize the theme publicly to justify his new classic aesthetic, as stated in his recount of his meeting with Freud, as stated above.

Conversely, Carter Ratcliff contextualizes Dalí's sexual sublimation as simply taking advantage of a situation that results from meeting Freud, as proposed above. Dalí, according to Ratcliff, simply transforms his impotence, for example, into "his esthetic of the mouth," (35), his public persona, thereby negating

his weakness by denying the standards that defined him as a weakling. Thus he brought down the hierarchy that placed paternal authority and sibling perfection above, and him below. In the larger world, this tumbling of hierarchies brought he heaven of high art down to ground level. Dalí's strategy was not only salvation for the great Salvador, it reflected with awesome accuracy a shift in the culture at large. (39)

Ratcliff's more objective perspective—afforded by decades of reflection because Ratcliff writes in the late 1980s—allows him to highlight Dalí's most enduring contribution to the art world, despite any emotional or economic underpinnings: Dalí classicizes high art and makes it available to those within the realm of popular culture. Yet the painter's classical methodology and composition are structural, not conscious in thematic content.

Specifically, Dalí's classical hand is best observed in the manner by which he challenges

the beholder and through mathematical line and form, not necessarily through classically-themed figures.²³

Apparently successful in his sexual sublimation, in a later text, *50 Secrets of Magic Craftsmanship* (1948), Dalí—in hindsight—cites his wife Gala as his inspiration for his becoming classic: “It was Gala who reinspired the Renaissance of classicism which slumbered within me since my adolescence” (86). Indeed, by merging his public personae with hers, he propagates his well-established duality of personal and public personae. Yet the true success of sexual sublimation is questioned by the issue of Dalí’s bisexuality and his previous attraction to poet Federico García Lorca, as maintained by Gibson, in his interactions with Dalí upon preparing and researching his biography of the Catalan painter, as mentioned above (Gibson xviii).

This revelation provides insight into a sexual duality and the suppression of his homosexuality or bisexuality, which puts into question Dalí’s strong emphasis on his relationship with Gala as expressed in Dalí’s autobiography. In other words, did Dalí sublimate his sexual attraction for García Lorca through his decades-long doting on his wife?²⁴ One can infer from Dalí’s subsequent actions after meeting with Freud that the sublimation of whatever sexuality perceived by the artist constitutes one of many ways Dalí clears the stage for the development of his paranoiac-critical method no longer

²³ Dalí begins to hone his classic esthetic focus by imitating Renaissance classical masters, especially regarding what James Thrall Soby, New York’s Museum of Modern Art’s 1941 Dalí exhibit Director, considers a reduplication of “sacrosanct rules of symmetry” (Soby 28). This four-quadrant symmetry, in addition to the manner by which Dalí challenges the beholder to consult the original Cervantine narrative illustrated, are the classicist methodologies I view in three of Dalí’s illustrations of *Don Quixote* in 1946. Soby represents one important supporter who recognizes Dalinian classicism in the 1940s.

²⁴ This is clearly an intriguing theme for future analyses regarding queering Dalí.

affected by patriarchal or paternal factors. Dalí essentially sweeps his entire sexuality under the carpet, utilizing Gala as a convenient public, patriarchal heteronormalizing cover.

David Vilaseca comments in *The Apocryphal Subject: Masochism, Identification, and Paranoia in Salvador Dalí's Autobiographical Writings* (1995), that Dalí's autobiography consists of a series of binaries that result from a suppression of homosexuality, the rejection of Federico García Lorca in 1928, and the subsequent rewriting of his history in his autobiography (7). Vilaseca's analyses reveal the manner by which Dalí embraced binaries such as subjectivity and objectivity, the self and the other, and homosexual and heterosexual (7). Such dualities in the same narrative voice in Dalí's autobiography serve to question the validity, reliability, and historic natures of the artist's reflections, especially as they relate to sexual sublimation.²⁵

Gibson explains what he considers sexual sublimation to mean to Dalí: erotic self-denial (425). In the painter's novel, *Hidden Faces* (1944), written six years after his meeting with Freud, Dalí introduces a new concept to his readers, that of "clédalism," which represents sublimation of sexuality as a logical extension to the relationship between sadism and masochism (Gibson 424-25). Dalí explains: "Sadism may be defined as pleasure experienced through pain inflicted on the object; Masochism, as pleasure experienced through pain submitted to by the object. Clédalism is pleasure and pain sublimated in an all-transcending identification with the object" (Dalí, *Hidden Faces* 12). This would seem to be a development of Dalí's "surrealist object" that the artist creates in

²⁵ This binary public representation of sexuality, as compared with Dalí's personally undefined sexuality, constitutes the basis of future queer theory analyses.

1936, consisting of “an assemblage in a box or tray in which various fetish articles [...] are placed in compartments or containers, [and] might be seen as Dalí’s wry comment on the taming of the fetish in a process of cultural appropriation” (Finkelstein, *Salvador Dalí’s Art* 294).

Concomitantly, Dalí’s perpetual erotic self-denial evokes Jacques Lacan’s theory of “*l’objet petit a*” and the concept of partial drives that represent anything that does not end in a sexual pairing with an orgasm within the scope of a “biological finality of sexuality” (Lacan 175-79). In Lacan’s theory, the potentiality of eroticism is intensified precisely because the goal of *l’objet petit a*, as explained by Slavoj Žižek, prolongs desire by negating orgasm (Žižek 369). The concept of *coitus reservatus* facilitated by Lacan’s theory would likely explain how and why Dalí avoids sexual pairings and allows him to maintain a perpetual state of erotic “edging.”²⁶ In other words, whether Dalí understood this phenomenon by becoming the otherness of his desires—his “identification with the object (Dalí, *Hidden Faces* 12)—he is constantly aroused sexually by denying *jouissance*.²⁷ This would coincide with Gibson’s observation of Dalí’s public erotic self-

²⁶ This is another theme for future analyses within queer theory. The term “edging” refers to a sexual practice that negates orgasm and perpetually forces the participant to remain in a state of sexual excitement just before climax. See Schwarz and Schwarz.

²⁷ David Gordon White explains that the negation of orgasm is also a component of “New Age Tantra,” a twentieth century reinterpretation of Tantra as “the Kaula sexual practice— the production of powerful, transformative sexual fluids—into simple by-products of a higher goal: the cultivation of a divine state of consciousness homologous to the bliss experienced in sexual orgasm” (xii). White explains that beginning in the early twentieth century, European and North American scholars began equating Tantra with previously held beliefs as established in Medieval India and the Kaula, noting that: “At no point in the original Kaula sources on sexualized ritual, however, is mention made of pleasure, let alone bliss or ecstasy” (xii). He concludes that scholars in “Western Tantric scholarship” have transformed Tantra into “‘Tantric sex’ that a number of Indian and Western spiritual entrepreneurs have been offering to a mainly American and European clientele for the past several decades” (xiii), including the concept of *coitus reservatus* (xii).

denial. Freud and Lacan validate Dalí's desire to become the fetishized object within the extension of sadism and masochism that the artist reinterprets as "clédalism." This would also explain, in part, his constant aversion to masturbation, to a romantic relationship with García Lorca, and to sexual intercourse with his wife Gala.²⁸

Gibson significantly traces García Lorca's presence in Dalí's novel:

One of the most persistent of these faces is that of Federico García Lorca, whose largely undeclared presence pervades the book. In the author's foreword we are informed that in 1922 Lorca foretold a literary career for Dalí (in fact they first met a year later), suggesting that his future lay in the "pure novel". Dalí also recalls the project for a joint opera hatched with Lorca in 1927 – a project he must now tackle alone – and in the prologue to the Spanish edition of the book there is an allusion to their visit to the ruins of Ampurias. As well as this open acknowledgement of Dalí's relationship with the poet, Lorca's "hidden face" peers at us from between the lines of the text almost with as much insistence as it does from the paintings in which Dalí evoked his dead friend. In particular, the "Ode to Salvador Dalí" continues strongly to affect Dalí's perception of himself. In the poem Lorca notes Dalí's Apollonian refusal to become emotionally entangled, of his search for balance, equilibrium and serenity. (426)

Here Gibson refers to the Greek classification of Apollo as the god of dreams, as opposed to irrational and chaotic Dionysian intoxication, as described in Friedrich Nietzsche's *The Birth of Tragedy* (1872):

Until now we have considered the Apollonian and its opposite, the Dionysian, as artistic powers, which burst forth from nature itself, without the mediation of the human artist, and in which their artistic drives at first satisfy themselves directly: first as the image-world of the dream, whose perfection is wholly unconnected to the intellectual level of artistic education of the individual, and then as intoxicated reality, which again pays no heed to the individual, and even seeks to annihilate the individual and to redeem him through a mystical feeling of unity. In relation to these direct artistic states of nature, every artist is an "imitator", that is, either Apollonian dream-artist or Dionysian artist of intoxication, or finally—as for example in Greek tragedy—simultaneously artist of dream and intoxication: such as we have to imagine him as he stands alone to one side of the infatuated choruses before sinking to his knees in Dionysian drunkenness and mystical self-abandonment and as, through the effect of the Apollonian dream, his own state,

²⁸ Another important theme regarding queering Dalí for future investigations.

that is, his unity with the innermost ground of the world, is revealed to him in an allegorical dream-image. (Kindle Locations 928-36)

Nietzsche underscores that images of dreams exist in nature without the need for human artists to intervene and render them. Under this categorization, Dalí is an “imitator,” just as every other artist according to Nietzsche, in his rendering of Apollonian dream imagery. Yet one can categorize Dalí’s public persona as representational of “Dionysian drunkenness” as the Other, an essential component to the success of Dalí’s methodology.²⁹ This is precisely because Dalí’s hidden and sublimated sexuality resurfaces through desublimated sexual imagery and public antics.

Regarding the art world and aesthetics, Nietzsche very eloquently notes that a duality exists between Apollo and Dionysus: “To both of their artistic deities, Apollo and Dionysus, is linked our knowledge that in the Greek world there existed a tremendous opposition, in terms of origin and goals, between the Apollonian art of the sculptor and the imageless Dionysian art of music” (Kindle Locations 853-855). Art historians Grant Pooke and Diana Newall refer to the “the Apollonian and the Dionysian,” as an allegory that represents “where nothing is quite what it seems and the sexual tension is achieved between the displayed [Apollonian] and the hidden [Dionysian]; the controlled [Apollonian] and the abandoned [Dionysian]” (148). Nietzsche observes: “The Greeks have likewise expressed this joyful necessity of the dream experience in their Apollo: Apollo, as the god of all plastic energies is at the same time the god of prophecy” (Kindle Locations 883-84). Dalí pursues his illustrations through the controlled Apollonian allegory while desublimating his sexuality in his Dionysian public persona.

²⁹ Future analyses will elaborate on the connection between Dalí’s paranoiac-critical method and the role of Apollonian dreams and Dionysian drunkenness in the painter’s classical trajectory.

Nietzsche concludes with analyses of the relationship between fantasy, reality, and dream imagery:

He, who according to the etymological root of his name is the ‘one who appears shining,’ the deity of light, is also master of the beautiful appearance of the inner world of the imagination. The higher truth, the perfection of these states in contrast to the only partial comprehensibility of everyday reality, the deep consciousness of nature as it heals and helps in sleep and dream is at the same time the symbolic analogue of the capacity for prophecy and of the arts as a whole, which make life possible and worth living. But our image of Apollo must include that delicate and indispensable line which the dream image may not overstep if it is not to have pathological effects, otherwise appearance would deceive us as clumsy reality: that measured restraint, that freedom from the wilder impulses, that calm wisdom of the image-creating god. His eye must ‘shine like the sun,’ in accordance with his origins; even when it rages and looks displeased, it remains consecrated by the beauty of appearance. (Kindle Locations 884-92)

Such classical relationship between reality and fantasy is observable in Dalí’s first color plate *Don Quixote’s First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora* from the Dalí edition of *Don Quixote*.

Gibson’s reference to “Apollonian refusal to become emotionally entangled” therefore refers to Dalí’s inability to show his emotions. Indeed, Gibson refers to García Lorca’s *Ode to Salvador Dalí* (1926) and the lines that refer to Dalí’s stoic and statuesque, and very un-emotional qualities (426). Two stanzas from the Ode reflect this perspective:

I sing longing for statues, sought without rest,
your fear of emotions that wait in the street.
I sing the tiny sea-siren who sings to you
riding a bicycle of corals and conches.

But above all I sing a shared thought
that joins us in the dark and the golden hours.
It is not Art, this light that blinds our eyes.
Rather it is love, friendship, the clashing of swords. (“Ode to Salvador Dalí”)

One can interpret the phrase “your fear of emotions that wait in the street” as signaling that the poetic voice yearns for Dalí to cast aside his fear of emotions so that he may truly embrace a homoerotic experience. The homoerotic nuance is found in the second stanza. “A shared thought” likely alludes to shared homoeroticism between the poetic voice and Dalí that inspires them to meet in the obscurity of the night. Art does not unite them; rather, homoeroticism’s blinding light is recast as love and friendship through the “clashing” of each one’s acceptance of homosexuality or bisexuality. Conversely, such a clashing can be interpreted as conflicting ideologies, artistic methodologies, or other topics that unite them in deep conversation in the wee and golden hours of the morning.

Applying these lines to Dalí’s novel, Gibson highlights that protagonist Veronica Stevens is much like a statue, making the first connection between García Lorca’s *Ode to Salvador Dalí* and Dalí’s *Hidden Faces*: “Veronica Stevens is ‘quiet and concentrated as a blind statue’, an enigmatic footnote explaining: ‘Federico García Lorca, speaking of his friend.’” (Gibson 426; Dalí, *Hidden Faces* 74). Additionally, by comparing protagonist John Randolph—narrating as Baba—with Dalí’s own voice, Gibson offers perhaps his most insightful connection in his entire biography of Dalí. He underscores how Baba declares in the novel: “I too believe once more in the ineradicable forces of tradition and aristocracy, and today I feel my revolutionary illusions of the Spanish war days like a distant germination that has already been harvested in my life” (Gibson 236).

Gibson establishes a pre-Surrealism epoch in which Dalí shares a “classical serenity” with García Lorca, tracing Dalí’s classical ambition to his earlier days at the *Residencia de estudiantes* in Madrid:

Since the sentiments being voiced here by Baba are manifestly Dali's, who at various points in the novel explicitly identifies with the narrator, the appropriation of the phrase from Lorca's ode is particularly poignant. It shows that, in Dali's mind at the time, Lorca is urging him to return to the "classical" serenity of his pre-Surrealist period. Lorca, that is, is envisaged as an accomplice in the process of Dali's 'reformation.' (427)

García Lorca's influence is not only found in Dalí's writings but also in his art.

Víctor Fernández Puertas notes that Dalí sketches *Don Quixote* for the first time in 1925, which is later published in 1927 in the Catalanian journal *La nova revista*. (Fig. 2).

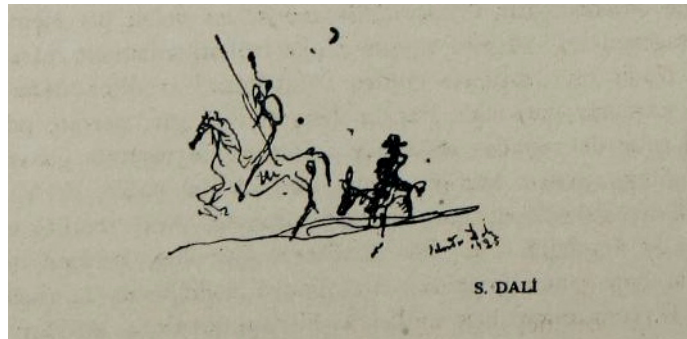


Fig. 2. Dalí, Salvador. Dalí's First Sketch of Don Quixote. 1927. *La nova revista* 10 ("Sketch" 148). © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

Because the image contains a rendering of the moon, the author identifies influence by García Lorca: "As a significant detail, a moon shines above; this is an element not often seen in Dali's painting and it reveals Lorca's influence, at that time the painter's great friend, who put frequently the earth's satellite in his poems, especially those included in his *Romancero Gitano* written during those years" (52).

Classical Historicity and Political Polemics

The year before Dalí publishes his autobiography, in April 1941 the artist writes an essay “The Last Scandal of Salvador Dalí” under the pseudonym Felipe Jacinto and, by referring to himself in third person, he manipulates his target readers by essentially telling them what to think of his public persona, his methodologies, and his art. The essay’s most important component, however, focuses on Dalí’s decision to “become classic”:

But Dali has found once more the means of remaining alone and totally removing himself from that crowd of followers and imitators which he sees multiplying too rapidly about him, and he does this with a gesture of absolute originality, indeed: during these chaotic times of confusion, of rout and of growing demoralization, when the warmed over vermicelli of romanticism serves as daily food for the sordid dreams of all the gutter rats of art and literature, Dali himself, I repeat, finds the unique attitude towards his destiny: TO BECOME CLASSIC! As if he has said to himself: “Now or never.” (“Last” 337)

In this passage, Dalí underscores his growing originality that conveniently distances him from society, the worlds of art and literature, his imitators, and from his fans. Indeed, this very distancing is doubly original due to the classic methodology.

Yet also in “The Last Scandal,” Dalí addresses the specific changes he wishes to make in his methodologies:

Finished, finished, finished, a thousand times finished—the experimental epoch. The hour of individual creations is about to strike. Finished—the epoch of improvised dramatic-lyrical blotches, of irresponsible spontaneous drawing, of two-cent philosophy disguising the technical and spiritual nothingness of the gratuitous, the shapeless and malformed. The young inquisitorial severity of the morphological era, dressed from head to foot in naked architecture, already stands like a resplendent goddess at the temple gates of art, once more forbidding the unworthy to enter. (“Last” 338)

Readers of Dalí’s narrative, especially his essays, likely infer a complicated classical trajectory that parallels the painter’s development of his public persona, his

methodological and esthetic break from European Surrealism, and his pursuit of the North American common man as his target audience (Finkelstein, *The Collected* 4). This newly acquired target reader audience and potential market for his plastic oeuvre in the United States is an essential economically-inspired foundation of Dalí's classical ambition.

As observed in Finkelstein's quote above, Dalí's essays from the late thirties and early forties are significant because they define the artist's own concept of becoming classic. In "Declaration of the Independence of the Imagination and the Rights of Man to His Own Madness" (1939) Dalí seems to establish a trajectory for his methodology that clearly addresses the North American public as a potential target audience (Finkelstein, *The Collected* 331-34). Dalí exclaims that the public is "infinitely superior to the rubbish that is fed to it daily" and that "those 'middle-men of culture' who, with their lofty airs and superior quackings, come between the creator and the public" (Gibson 333).³⁰

The middle men of culture to whom Dalí refers can be inferred as representing art dealers and other representatives who promote Dalí and his works, especially in North America. Indeed, Dalí addresses the North American public directly in "Declaration":

ARTISTS AND POETS OF AMERICA! IF YOU WISH TO RECOVER THE SACRED SOURCE OF YOUR OWN MYTHOLOGY AND YOUR OWN INSPIRATION, THE TIME HAS COME TO REUNITE YOURSELVES WITHIN THE HISTORIC BOWELS OF YOUR PHILADELPHIA, TO RING ONCE MORE THE SYMBOLIC BELL OF YOUR IMAGINATIVE INDEPENDENCE, AND, HOLDING ALOFT IN ONE HAND FRANKLIN'S LIGHTNING ROD, AND IN THE OTHER LAUTREAMONT'S UMBRELLA, TO DEFY THE STORM OF OBSCURANTISM THAT IS THREATENING YOUR COUNTRY! LOOSE THE BLINDING LIGHTNING OF YOUR

³⁰ It seems that Dalí here compliments the intelligence of the North American public, in stark contrast to Gibson's opinion that Dalí did not think the North Americans would understand the complexities of Surrealism (404).

ANGER AND THE AVENGING THUNDER OF YOUR PARANOIAC
INSPIRATION! ("Declaration" 333, original emphasis)

Finkelstein clarifies that earlier pre-World War II essays were written directly in English while Dalí's "new American essays" were translated from French, which, according to Finkelstein, might explain the simplistic language that would have been directed toward the North American everyman—the emerging middle class post-World War II:

The shifting of Dalí's sights to the American public is clearly apparent in the tenor and rhetorical quality of his new American essays. Dalí now altogether abandoned the intricate system of ambiguities introduced by him into his theory for the purpose of tentatively resolving its conflicting implications vis-à-vis Surrealist theory and his own artistic practice. The new writings were thus often given to a straightforward and quite simplistic mode of communication. This might be ascribed, in part, to the fact that, having been translated from Dalí's original French text, they have already been revised and edited by the translators in order to clarify any residues of ambiguities and counter Dalí's inherent tendency to mystify his readers. But beyond such an obvious conclusion, one might well assume that Dalí himself was fully cognizant of the fact that his new reading public probably had no knowledge of, or even sympathy for, the finer points of the Surrealist discourse. (*Collected* 321)

This supports art critic Clement Greenberg's critique that Surrealism in North America was utilized as kitsch to sell popular culture and that its true value as high art was overshadowed by popular culture's dominating low art (13). This theme represents one of the framing referents surrounding the creation and reselling of *Don Quixote* in the United States, the blending of high and low art aesthetics directed towards popular culture.

In "Dalí Dalí" (1939), the artist again refers to Leonardo da Vinci and ancient aesthetics, in addition to criticizing Romantic reinterpretations of ancient classicism (335-36). Dalí begins by alluding to Plato's Allegory of the Cave from *Republic* (380 BC): "The cave-man "saw," in the rugosities of the cavern walls, [...] the precise silhouette, the truculent profile, of nutritive and magical obsessions, the hallucinating contours of the

veritable prey of his imagination, these animals which he engraved by accentuating or retracing certain of the "stimulating" irregularities" (335). Dalí then evokes Aristophanes and the ability to infer imagery from clouds in his comedy *The Clouds* (423 BC) (335). Dalí's reference to the ancients is a classical reference to the subconscious and shadows, especially through the Allegory of the cave, which underscores how the painter embraces classical aesthetics, a clear deviation from European Surrealism's aesthetics of regression.

In order to contextualize how Dalí's methodologies overlap with ongoing sociopolitical resonances and what Dalí's rupture with European Surrealist aesthetics entails, it is important to revisit Dalí's Communist ties in the early 1930s and his subsequent political oscillations that seem to favor whomever he considers likely to emerge victorious in the various conflicts of the thirties and forties.³¹ With the end of the Spanish Civil War and with World War II looming eminently on the horizon, Dalí expounds in 1939 his political views that clearly support Franco and the Falangist movement in Spain, as analyzed below.

Yet the question remains as to whether this is public posturing is designed by the artist to garner attention or whether it represents his true political beliefs. Because by this time his Dionysian public persona is so tightly interwoven with his personal life, it is almost impossible to extricate one from the other. However, one can view how Dalí's political oscillations, as found in his writings, will continue to affect public reception of Dalí the painter and the validity of his narrative and visual arts. Clearly, the public

³¹ The relationship between Surrealism and Marxism in mid-twentieth century North America will be analyzed in Chapter 3.

polemic affects how Dalí markets himself in North America after World War II, intending to alter his political posturing from previous decades.³²

As a means of establishing Dalí's earlier support of Communism, Gibson relates that Dalí presents a lecture entitled "Surrealism in the Service of the Revolution" on September 18, 1931 at the first meeting in Spain that addresses Communism and Surrealism through the "consolidation of Freud and Marx" (Gibson 288). Catalanian Communist author and politician Jaume Miravittles addresses the meeting by underscoring the fundamental difference between Communism and Surrealism that hinges on an economic question. Gibson clarifies Miravittles' declaration: "Surrealists wanted a revolution from within, a radical change in the inner man, whereas Communism was convinced that only a new economic structure could alter society. Despite this divergence, however, there was a potent common denominator: hatred of the bourgeoisie and the determination to destroy it" (Gibson 288).

Also at this meeting, one of the Dalís' best friends, French author René Crevel—who, like Dalí was expelled from the European Surrealist movement—underscores that "Surrealism was a movement, not a school, and that it gave primacy to collective over individual action" (Gibson 286-88). Gibson summarizes Crevel's presentation:

It supported revolution in Spain. Crevel attacked the intellectual establishment, which he saw as a complacent instrument of the bourgeoisie, extended himself on the question of racial prejudice and anti-semitism [sic], and voiced his loathing for the Catholic Church. He ended by quoting Breton's famous definition of Surrealism: "Pure mental automatism, by means of which it is proposed to express, either in speech, in writing or in any other manner, the true functioning of thought. Dictation by thought without any rational, aesthetic or moral control." (288)

³² Zalman explains that Breton's Surrealism that carried with it Communist ideological overtones was basically overshadowed by Dalí's "co-option of the movement" (26).

In Dalí's presentation, the artist criticizes the bourgeois society in Catalonia and underscores Surrealism's opposition to Capitalism through its goal to demoralize bourgeois society (Gibson 288). Gibson establishes Dalí's clear anti-Capitalistic stance: "He then proceeded to argue that Surrealism had developed a method for penetrating what he called the 'subterranean and proletarian zone of the mind.' 'Surreality' was in open opposition to capitalist 'reality,' to the conventions of capitalist thinking. It aimed at demoralizing bourgeois society" (288). Gibson establishes the first political stance within ongoing oscillations that will eventually affect how his art and writings are received in Europe and North America.

Later in 1939, although Dalí still maintains loyalty to Breton, the founder of European Surrealism, the artist begins to develop "a frenzy of self-promotion that the Surrealist revolution was one of the last things on his mind" (Gibson 392). Indeed, Gibson underscores the importance of two letters Dalí writes to Spanish Surrealist filmmaker Luis Buñuel in which the artist clearly indicates his support for Franco and the Falangist movement. Gibson states that Buñuel writes to Dalí seeking money (394), now that he has no job due to the inconvenience of the Spanish Civil War (392).

In Dalí's first epistolary response, Dalí clearly states his clear indifference to the prospect of a world war. The language utilized is clearly based in propaganda and seemingly supports Gibson's stance that Dalí is in self-promotion mode:

You already know that I don't believe there'll be a world war. Although we're experiencing some moments of "objective danger," I'm convinced that before two months are up there'll be a sudden change (already prepared and decided). France and Italy will patch things up and once the "axis" is broken Stalin will arrange things with Hitler so that the latter can gobble up the big juicy chop of the Ukraine. When this happens, with the Japanese imperialists automatically feeling

threatened (by Russia-Germany), the conflict will break out precisely in the United States. (Dalí, cited in Gibson 393)

Later in the letter, Dalí emphasizes and promotes his position in high society:

In two weeks I have to leave here for Montecarlo [sic] to see to my show, which will be put on in the Paris Opera in June, and then London. In principle I'm still interested in Hollywood but since my financial situation is improving each day, and there's no need for me to go there, *the cleverest thing for me to do* is to wait and to refuse all projects until the moment (inevitable, given the acceleration of my *prestige and popularity*) when they ask me to go as a *dictator*—with *as many dollars* for my film *as I fucking want*, and as quickly—it's the only basis for a contract that *I'll accept*, and this would be impossible if I accepted anything *provisionally*—do you get the point? (Dalí, cited in Gibson 393, original emphasis)

Finally, Dalí emphatically severs his ties with Marxism, now that he has a clear market in New York:

Your new position seems to me much more realistic than those *Marxist idealisms*. My advice as a friend, as the Dali of the Toledo days, is to disinfect yourself of all those Marxist points of view, since Marxism, philosophically and from every point of view, is the most imbecilic theory of our civilization, it's totally false and Marx is probably the acme of abstraction and stupidity—it would be terrible for you to abandon political Marxism but to continue thinking as a Marxist in other spheres, since Marxism prevents us from understanding anything about the phenomena of our epoch. (Dalí, cited in Gibson 393)

In Dalí's second letter to Buñuel, the artist declares an affiliation with Franco and the Falangist fascist ideologies. Whether this is shock-value propaganda on Dalí's part or a true support of Franco as the winner of the Civil War, is unclear. Dalí states:

Negrin was leading us in the direction of a nauseating Socialist mediocrity that has been totally surpassed by the "Falanges", by Spanish biological reality—If you knew the position of the stars you could never think there was going to be a war! How far you are from the truth! To recapitulate—my life must now be *orientated towards Spain* and The Family. *Systematic destruction* of the *infantile* past represented by my Madrid friends, images which have no *real consistence*. [...] What shit Marxism is, the last survival of Christian shit—Catholicism I respect *a lot*, it's SOLID. [...] SPAIN IS *SERIOUS*, DESTINED FOR "*WORLD*

HEGEMONY". A SURREALIST "ARRIBA ESPANA!" (Dalí, cited in Gibson 395, original emphasis)³³

Gibson opines that Dalí has succumbed to the influence of Falangist rhetoric. He also comments on how Dalí's father had converted to Francoism after having suffered tremendously during the Civil War. Gibson believes since Dalí likely wanted to return to Spain, he adopted this language in his second letter to Buñuel (394-96).

Gibson further observes that both Buñuel and Breton were "disgusted with Dalí" due to this political shift (396). Concomitantly, Carter Ratcliff notes that Dalí "is despised less for his sordid politics than for his esthetic betrayals" (36). Gibson concludes that, at this point, Dalí is on his own:

From now on he would go it alone, and bringing all his proven gifts for self-publicity to bear, propagate the myth that he, Salvador Dali, and he alone, was the only true Surrealist. In America, where Breton was known to only a tiny minority but Dali was already famous, he can have foreseen no difficulty in persuading a gullible public of the truth of this proposition. Given the clouds of war gathering in Europe, Dali was now more convinced than ever that his future, and his fortune, lay on the other side of the Atlantic. (397)

Dalí's public persona and political fickleness begin to inspire public incredulity as to the sincerity of his public exclamations and writings, especially his essays from the late 1930s and early 1940s and his autobiography published in 1942. The painter's classical turn, one that Finkelstein names "classical ambition" (*The Collected* 317), as stated above, is clearly part of this posturing and is equally subject to criticism as incredulous.

³³ Yet, as we will see in Chapter 3, the United States achieves world hegemony in the 1940s, not Spain, and Dalí firmly situates himself there, in exile, as a result.

André Breton underscores in “The Latest Tendencies in Surrealist Painting” in May 1939 how Dalí’s racist remarks add to the public’s inability take Dalí seriously:³⁴

In February 1939 Dali said (I have this from Dali himself and I've taken the trouble to make sure that no humour was involved) that all the present trouble in the world is racial in origin, and that the best solution, agreed on by all the white races, is to reduce all the dark races to slavery. I do not know what doors such a declaration can open for the author in Italy and America, the countries between which he now oscillates, but I know which they'll close. After this I cannot see how, in independent-minded circles, his message could be taken seriously. (Breton, cited in Gibson 387)

Yet Gibson clearly denotes Dalí’s later capitalist turn:

Early in the 1940s it had begun to dawn on Dali and Gala that there was money to be made by linking the painter's name to commercial products. [...] Book illustrations provided another source of easy income – easy because in general they were not so much illustrations as more or less arbitrary variations on work done during the 1930s. [...] Dali is merely doing the same things over and over again. (430-31)

Gibson confirms that Dalí’s political oscillation regarding Capitalism represents just one of the many public polemics that inspire an insincere public reception of the artist’s European and North American marketing. His public return to classicism is viewed as hypocritical and as a simple regurgitation of previous imagery he had already made famous. One can observe how Dalí responds to political baggage and historic political associations by overshadowing them with new methodologies and foci, such as classicism and the concept of “Dalinian.”³⁵

³⁴ Finkelstein also comments on Dalí’s “racist and Fascist attitudes and the sympathy he showed to Franco’s regime” (*Salvador Dalí’s Art 1*).

³⁵ The artist and writer—once again in hindsight—utilizes the term “Dalinian” politically to describe his rejection of the Spanish Civil War, Stalin, and Hitler: “For I simply continued to think, and I did not want to be called anything but Dalí. But the hyena of public opinion was slinking around me, demanding of me with the drooling menace of its expectant teeth that I make up my mind at last, that I become Stalinist or Hitlerite. No! No! No! and a thousand times no! I was going to continue to be as always and until I died, Dalinian and only Dalinian” (*Secret* 360).

Conclusions

Is the formation of a legacy Dalí's sole intention? Specifically, to create a legacy worth imitating through his own imitation of Renaissance classical masters, forcing the beholders of his pictorial works produced in the 1940s to consult the text of *Don Quixote*? Political polemics and oscillations aside, one can observe in the 1930s and 1940s how Dalí regards the concept of legacy, specifically how he implements a major change regarding his earlier surrealist methodology of automatism, declaring, both to himself and publicly, a desire to become classic. Dalí not only imitates the legacy set forth by Renaissance classicists in his move towards Renaissance classicism but also consciously seeks to create a sense of inherent classicism in his works that would later be imitated. Hardee delineates three key phrases that seem to fit Dalí like a glove: "highest class of citizens," "authoritative for imitators," and "more general stylistic choices" ("Classicism" 322). The first can be related to Dalí's capitalistic focus on the North American and European social elite while the second seems to justify Dalí's legacy and value with art history and subsequent imitators. The third can be utilized to describe Dalí's diversity and propensity to utilize his own surrealist style to create a classical tone and line in his pictorial compositions. "Classic," then, for Dalinian analyses entails Hardee's definition above of ancient Greek and Roman imagery, as well as the utilization of methodologies established in the Renaissance and Baroque—as inspired by ancient Greek and Roman imagery in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries—that offer a didactic quality through inspiring the beholder to seek clarification in the original narratives that are reinterpreted pictorially.

Hardie explains the following key component of classicism that I feel defines Dalí's perception and utilization of the term and explains the success, and imitation, of the painter's public persona:

The possibility of designating a period as "classical," and of the consequent appearance of "classicizing" movements, arises with the Hellenistic consciousness of the present as set off from, but heir to, a great past tradition, and with the *self-conscious development of a theory of imitation*. ("Classicism," my emphasis)

The trajectory of classicism in Dalí's life and oeuvre, both in literature and the visual arts, begins with his earliest artistic training and endures throughout the painter's life.

I believe that Dalí does nothing short of developing his own theory of imitation through the act of imitating methodologies established by Renaissance classical masters. Whatever Dalí's inspiration towards becoming classic, and regardless of whether his "classical ambition" results from meeting Freud, the question remains as to the relationship between Dalí and *Don Quixote* and the issues underlying the 1946 edition's success. The material and historical significance of this text will be examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 3

MATERIALITY OF THE 1946 *DON QUIXOTE* BY DALÍ

We consider Cervantes's *Don Quixote* one of the most important books in the world. (Bennett A. Cerf, "Words to Live by" 303)

With the end of World War II, the 1940s sees the United States initiating an era of global hegemony, the sociopolitical effects of which may be observed in illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, including the 1946 edition illustrated by Salvador Dalí.¹ While one may be tempted to categorize Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* as the literary love child of several major actors collaborating on the publishing stage in mid-1940s North America, it can more precisely be defined as the product of such actors who instead vie to upstage each other. While a series of factors must align perfectly in New York in 1946 to produce such a high-quality product as Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote*, ego and greed afforded by the post-war, capitalistic hegemony threaten to derail the project.

The first such factor results from strong hitters such as Bennet Cerf and R. A. Freiman at Random House, who, along with others at the publishing house, enable the production of not only Dalí's edition of *Don Quixote*, but also of the other texts in the series during and after World War II.² Their ability to creatively null the effects of

¹ The same can be observed in imagery contained in editions illustrated during various historical periods in England, France, and the Netherlands, especially in times of peace, an important theme of future analyses regarding sociopolitical insights afforded by illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*.

² It is crucial to underscore the difference between Random House, The Modern Library, and The Illustrated Modern Library. Their history will be delineated below, as well as what type of books each published. It is also important to note that all three publish simultaneously before and after World War II, some publishing giant texts, unillustrated classic texts, and paperbacks. The scope

shortages on the publishing house, as well as to manage and pacify both Dalí and his wife Gala's egos and passion for selling the painter's work, are indispensable to the entire process of organizing the creation, layout, and eventual publishing of the text. The second factor lies in Dalí's ability to freely produce—unimpeded by the war—ten watercolors and thirty-one sketches for the classic text. As we will see, other external factors such as material shortages, a change in print plants, and a buyer who wishes to purchase the watercolors complicate and delay publication, almost clearing the stage of all parties involved in the production of this unique text.

The material significance of Dalí's illustrated *Don Quixote* in 1946 therefore lies in the fact that it provides thematic framing referents towards analyses of larger, overarching sociopolitical movements and print processes in the mid-1940s that combine to successfully produce and sell illustrated classic texts.³ Although paper and other material shortages caused by the war influence book printing in general, Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library—primarily through the efforts of one of its most prominent and influential owners, Bennett Cerf—continue to procure paper and contract with binding companies and printing facilities that enable the publishers to continue producing small, collectible, and attractive illustrated editions marketed towards the

of this dissertation therefore focuses on The Illustrated Modern Library that published a series of smaller-sized, hardcover illustrated classic texts in the mid-1940s, including Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1946) illustrated by Charles Looke ("Additions"); Henry Fielding's *The History of Tom Jones: A Foundling* (1943), illustrated by Warren Chappell; and Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1944), illustrated by Edward A. Wilson, among others. A comparison of the publication quality of these and other classics in the series due to influences by World War II will be discussed later in this chapter.

³ The naming of these as "classic" by publishers is a separate theme from the focus of this dissertation, which is on Renaissance classicism, ancient Greek and Roman classical iconography, and Renaissance and Baroque artistic methodologies.

emerging middle class in North America in the mid-1940s. These war-caused shortages create a reading public thirsty for entertainment that essentially ensures the success of illustrated classic texts published by The Illustrated Modern Library, including the 1946 *Don Quixote* illustrated by Dalí.

Such a thirst for classic literature can also be traced back to influences by Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, analyzed below, that continue to resonate in the 1940s, and literature holds a significant place within this resonance. Gorham Munson clarifies the role of classic literature with the North American public that is desperate to understand post-war, fast-paced sociopolitical changes: "We want our faith in democracy chanted and sung by a bard; we want our concern for social reform lifted to an imaginative plane; we want our realism saturated with broad and warm feeling. In short, from the depths of ourselves, we want literature" (118).⁴ The vast reading market that is created by these two major literature-centered factors helps explain the popularity of the 1946 Random House edition of *Don Quixote* as a classic text. Yet Dalí's focus on classicism and his high skill set in painting and colorizing also heavily influence the edition's popularity.

In this chapter, we continue to trace Salvador Dalí's classical trajectory as it begins to flourish in the United States in the early- to mid-1940s, analyzing and contextualizing the historic, cultural, and material significance of Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* as framed by two historical referents. First, because Dalí's sociopolitical and classical trajectories place him in the United States in the 1940s for an extended period,

⁴ Clearly this is a theme that resonates within current North American sociopolitical environments.

fleeing the ravages of World War II,⁵ a series of factors and collaborations in North America, initiated by important and influential people, begins to coalesce that later culminates with the production of the 1946 edition published by The Illustrated Modern Library and Random House. Despite a series of adversarial circumstances, including polemics surrounding the ten watercolors Dalí produces for the edition, the collaboration produces a unique product. It is unique not because the quality of its typeset or paper is better than other classic texts in the series; rather, Dalí's compositions are carefully contemplated, very detailed, and lavishly illustrated.⁶

The second framing referent temporally and geographically demarcates Dalí's cultural production in 1940s North America as a benchmark within his overall classic trajectory that begins and ends in Europe. In Chapter 2, we establish Dalí's earliest classical tendencies in Europe. Yet later, in 1957, for example, well after the Dalís return to Spain at the end of the 1940s, the Catalanian artist will illustrate *Don Quixote* again, but from a very different approximation that utilizes classicism in a more paranoiac manner.⁷ Indeed, in the Editorial Mateu edition of *Don Quixote de la Mancha* published

⁵ The comparatively safe economic environment that the United States offers Dalí allows the painter to create the profundity of works produced during this decade, especially the illustrations for *Don Quixote*. This gave him time to deeply contemplate the passages and create his own pictorial narratives. Dalí no longer had to flee from country to country trying to stay ahead of the war in Europe.

⁶ It is lavish in terms of detail of line and color, including the pooling of watercolor to help tell a pictorial narrative.

⁷ See Dalí's introductory preface "Pourquoi, malgré moi, les lithographies de mon Quichotte seront les lithographies du siècle" of his book *Histoire de un gran livre* (1957) for his account of a two-year period in which he concedes to publisher Joseph Foret's insistence that the painter utilize lithographic stones to illustrate *Don Quixote*. Dalí discovers the value of lithographic stones and firing balloons of ink at them to create surreal imagery as a very precise process. He spent two years illustrating *Don Quixote*, wanting it to be his greatest "contradiction of lithography and geology" (Dalí, *Histoire*, "Pourquoi" par. 6, my translation).

in 1965 in Barcelona, Dalí not only reuses—and sometimes reinterprets, edits, and colorizes—the imagery created for the 1946 edition, but also adds a plethora of illustrations that reflect a much more surreal and oneiric compositional style. For that reason, the period of 1939-1947 will be examined here as the most significant years regarding the genre of illustrated texts in North America and the development and reception of Surrealism, Dalí, and Dalí's version of classicism, defining and representing the scope of this dissertation.⁸

We will begin by examining the history of how Random House—already publishing illustrated editions of classic texts as The Illustrated Modern Library before the end of World War II—publishes Dalí's *Don Quixote* in 1946, a year after the war ends. Bennett Cerf had already become one of the more prominent owners of Random House, and through his work, the publishing house is successful during the war despite paper shortages and rationing. We will also investigate the relationship between Random House and Dalí and how the text—both the English translation by Peter Motteux and the illustrations by Dalí—were received in mid-twentieth century United States⁹ within the realm of literary scholars, art historians, popular culture, and the North American everyman: the emerging middle class. A demarcation is revealed between academia and popular culture regarding the reception of Motteux's 1700-03 translation utilized by

⁸ A more detailed examination of the reception of Surrealism in 1940s North America will appear in Chapter 4.

⁹ Although it falls outside of the scope of this dissertation, Surrealism and Dalí's political reception in Spain, particularly in the 1930s and as related to the Spanish Civil War, is also of special interest and will constitute future analyses. As a point of departure, see Robin Adèle Greeley's text *Surrealism and the Spanish Civil War* (2006).

Random House not only for the 1946 *Don Quixote* but also for other editions printed by the publishing house, including the 1941 deluxe edition illustrated by Hans Alexander Mueller.

While in the U.S., Dalí continues to fine-tune the popular reception of his classical trajectory by perfecting his over-the-top public persona. Such a persona combines with Surrealism's fame and notoriety—as evidenced in marketing and advertising of popular culture in the United States—to positively affect the reception of the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* as a classic designed to sell to an emerging middle class after World War II that is accustomed to reading. Basically, Dalí's crazy antics call attention to the artist while the lavish, sexy, and colorful classical themes found in his illustrations for the 1946 *Don Quixote* appeal to the masses and help sell the text.¹⁰

Dalí's compositional style that begins with sexual sublimation naturally transitions into desublimation of sexualized imagery found in the pictorial compositions in many of his paintings in the 1930s and 1940s.¹¹ Yet, as my analyses in Chapter 4 indicate, I underscore that although Dalí composes sensual and surreal subjects in many

¹⁰ Sexy in the sense that in Dalí's *Don Quixote*, ten images are delightfully colorful, with some images containing sweeping, semi-nude figures that occupy all four quadrants of the pictorial composition. This is especially viewable in the first and third color illustrations of the 1946 edition. These illustrations clearly do not reflect pictorial sexual perversions for which Dalí is famous in his paintings from this period. Further, they do not represent what North American art critic Clement Greenberg considers iconographic sexual kitsch within Surrealism as an artistic movement, as analyzed in Chapter 4 (Greenberg, "Avant-Garde" 6). As we will see in the next two chapters, the illustrations for Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* are sometimes swept into the categorization of kitsch and I argue that they should not be due to Dalí's mastery of classical imagery and pictorial diegesis.

¹¹ See, for example, Dalí's paintings such as *Meditation on the Harp* (1932-34), *Fountain of Milk Spreading Itself Uselessly on Three Shoes* (1945), and a later painting *Two Adolescents* (1954) for evidence that Dalí desublimates previously sublimated sexuality.

of his paintings in this period, for the illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote*, the painter focuses more on classical imagery and Renaissance classical methodologies such as line, form, and angles. What appears to be sexualized imagery—such as an apparently feminized Apollo and a semi-nude Aurora in the first color illustration—are classically-rendered representations of Greek deities that demonstrate little to no level of paranoia or sublimated sexual perversion. It is essential to separate the genre of painting from the genre of book illustrations—specifically regarding *Don Quixote*—when contemplating and analyzing Dalí’s classical oeuvre.¹²

Regarding Dalí’s perversely-themed, sexualized paintings, not the *Don Quixote* illustrations, I agree with art historian Robin Adèle Greeley, who identifies how Dalí desublimates sexual imagery in his paintings as a means of channeling his previously sublimated sexuality. Indeed, the internalized sexual imagery seems to resurface through Dalí’s abandonment of automatism and subsequent development of his own famous paranoiac-critical method:

Significantly, the *Generación del '27* was not subject to automatism in the same way as the orthodox Surrealist movement in Paris. This left Dalí free to explore a process of conscious desublimation of sexual desires as the foundation for his paranoiac-critic method. [...] Paranoiac vision restores to dreams their status as visual documentation of sublimated desire; oniric [sic] imagery from paranoid hallucinations can be treated as “factual”—indeed reproducible—evidence of those desires. Dalí therefore shifts attention from automatism's passive recording of dream imagery to the active (paranoid) perception of the exterior world. (56-60)

¹² In an earlier text illustrated by Dalí in 1933, Le Comte de Lautréamont’s *The Songs of Maldoror*, Dalí composes clearly desublimated sexual imagery in several illustrations found between the third and fourth cantos, particularly on pages 138-39. In these images, the figures cut off their own breasts and buttocks with knives (Lautréamont 138-39). Other images reflect Dalí’s father’s piano on which the elder Dalí had placed the book on venereal disease, a disturbing event that scarred Dalí for life. Nothing such as this appears in the 1946 *Don Quixote*.

Yet to both the trained beholder educated in art historical methodologies and to literary scholars, the illustrations of the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* reflect an oneiric and paranoid representation of Don Quixote's famous bifurcation of reality and fantasy, but without the desublimated sexual imagery for which Dalí by this time is famous. Such classical representations in *Don Quixote* are carefully contemplated pictorial narratives based on the original Cervantine narratives the painter chooses to illustrate, reinforcing classical themes and methodologies observable by the academic reader and art historian. I therefore conclude that Dalí exhibits through these illustrations a respect of epic storytelling and themes precisely because the painter very markedly omits perverse desublimated sexualized imagery and includes classicism to illustrate Cervantes's text.

In addition to classicism, Dalí's over-the-top reputation also affects the popular reception of the 1946 edition, which is made possible in part because during the war, department stores had begun to sell books due to shortages of other cultural production supplies. The North American public, now accustomed to reading books, continues buying them, even after paper shortages end and especially because even more attractive texts are published (Neavill 593-94). Included within this latter category is Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote*.

Yet when one investigates the 1944-47 Illustrated Modern Library series of illustrated classics, one notes a very high standard of publication, including good paper quality, clear typeset, carefully-designed book covers and frontispieces, and mise-en-page placement of illustrations within the body of the text. In this sense, the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* illustrated by Dalí is not unique; rather, it simply represents one of a series of texts published by Random House / The Illustrated Modern Library during the years

1944-47. What makes Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* unique is the lavish color Dalí creates in his ten offset watercolors and the high level of detail of his thirty-one vignettes—through the careful contemplation by the artist—all marketed by Random House towards the U.S. common- man market.¹³

Common Man and The New Deal

With magnificent and pompous brass, Aaron Copeland's *Fanfare for the Common Man* announces in 1942 the arrival of what 33rd United States Vice-President Henry Agard Wallace (1941-45) proclaims as the arrival of the "Century of the Common Man" (19-20).¹⁴ As a result of President Franklin Delano Roosevelt's New Deal, it is an era that art historian Sandra Zalman considers propitious to exploiting Surrealism, in addition to mixing high and low art, in order to create products that appeal to the general population

¹³ Evidenced by correspondence analyzed below between the Dalís and Random House, Dalí fulfilled his role in illustrating the text while the marketing decisions were made by Random House. Regarding the quality of Dalí's illustrations, however, compare, for example, the 1944 Illustrated Modern Library edition of Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre*. The illustrations are more pastel and almost singular in their colorization. It is unclear whether this results from Random House's inability to print detailed color in 1944 due to shortages or whether it is a simple artistic expression set forth by the illustrating artist within the pictorial compositions created for the edition. It is most likely that the latter is true, due to the fact that Bennett Cerf was able to achieve high standards for publication of the series at The Illustrated Modern Library and shortages did not seem to seriously affect their production, as I will discuss below.

¹⁴ Copeland wrote the piece as inspired by Wallace's speech in 1941 in which he proclaims the emergence of the Century of the Common Man. Wallace exclaims in his book *The Century of the Common Man* (1943): "Some have spoken of the 'American Century.' I say that the century on which we are entering—the century which will come out of this war—can be and must be the century of the common man. Perhaps it will be America's opportunity to suggest the freedoms and duties by which the common man must live" (19-20).

(28-29).¹⁵ Gordon Barrick Neavill, in his article “Publishing in Wartime: The Modern Library Series during the Second World War” (2007), notes that Random House owner Bennett Cerf explains how “large retailers”—low on stock of regular items—begin to seek books for sales when they had never sold books before (588). Despite paper shortages, the demand for books greatly affects publishers, who are forced to print books with smaller print and on lower-quality paper (Neavill 587).

Catalonian artist Salvador Dalí’s anti-capitalist Surrealism, setting aside for the moment the artist’s capitalistic and Dionysian public persona, combined with his re-focus on classical line and form, ensure his own commercial success as illustrator of Random House’s 1946 *Don Quixote*. Although Dalí succeeds in reaching Roosevelt, Wallace, and Copeland’s common man through his partnering with Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library—largely due to the publishing house’s already-established target reading market of the illustrated series of classics—by producing an attractive and marketable edition for the middle class, he also continues to flourish in his development of Renaissance classicism, which can be observed in the complex compositions and colorization of these illustrations. Dalí and The Illustrated Modern Library create a unique product within the traditional print history of pocket-sized illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* and within the series of illustrated classics by The Illustrated Modern Library.¹⁶

¹⁵ Zalman notes Julien Levy’s and Dalí’s participation in the 1939 World’s Fair, that “was designed as a site where ‘everyman’ could be educated about the ‘wonders of contemporary life’ but would also ensure ‘the means by which *Everyman* may be entertained or amused’” (29).

¹⁶ The beginning of Dalí’s classicism and classical trajectory is analyzed in Chapter 2 and evidence of the same in his illustrations is analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5. See the Introduction of

Yet one of the most important questions this chapter seeks to identify is who—and what corporations—must work in collaboration to realize the 1946 publication. Its existence as a lavishly illustrated edition marketed towards the emerging middle class in North America after World War II, despite a previous paper shortage, seems to defy the print history of *Don Quixote* regarding the social class of its target readers. For example, what would normally be a lavish edition directed towards collectors and libraries is created and marketed for the masses. As mentioned in the introduction to this dissertation, collectible illustrated editions—especially those illustrated by known artists—are traditionally larger in size (McGraw 20). While larger texts are also printed, such as the series called Modern Library Giants published by Random House, smaller texts replace this series during the war due to paper rationing introduced by the War Production Board (Neavill 587).

It is important to underscore that the 1946 edition's smaller size does not detract from its collectability; in fact, it adds to it because the quality of paper is high, the typeset is not small, and the quality of the ink used for both the text and color illustrations is also high. It is one of a series of collectible classic texts and people begin to collect them, in part, precisely because of their unique size. It is also important to note that by the time Dalí's edition of *Don Quixote* is published, the second World War is already over, as is the paper shortage. Yet Neavill explains that with the end of the war, the rationing of paper also ended, although "it took time for paper mills to get back to prewar levels of production" (593).

this dissertation and McGraw (20) for more information about the traditional print history of pocket-size editions of *Don Quixote*.

However, as will be discussed below, it is not simple paper rationing that affects book sales for Random House but rather other shortages caused by the war that inspire North Americans to read classic texts. To contextualize how important this is, we must retrace Random House's development through the difficulties and shortages instigated by World War II to see how the publishing house converts a negative situation into a lucrative business venture.

The Modern Library, Random House, and The Illustrated Modern Library

Neavill explains that “American book publishing during the Second World War had to cope with a huge increase in demand for books coupled with scarcity of resources, especially paper rationing imposed by the War Production Board” (583).¹⁷ Publishers felt the scarcities most (584). To contextualize this historically, Neavill underscores the historical importance underlying the creation of the Modern Library—before the creation of Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library—just before the United States enters World War I:

The Modern Library was conceived shortly before American entry into the First World War by Albert Boni, a young Greenwich Village bookseller and occasional publisher. His objective was to promote the currents of European modernism in the United States by publishing inexpensive reprint editions of the works of such authors as Samuel Butler, Henrik Ibsen, Friedrich Nietzsche, George Bernard Shaw, August Strindberg, and Oscar Wilde. The firm Boni and Liveright was created to publish the Modern Library, and the first twelve volumes appeared in May 1917. The series grew rapidly during its first two years, but Boni's connection with it was short lived. [...] Horace Liveright was more interested in publishing new American writers than in the relatively unglamorous business of reprint publishing. He became one of the most important literary publishers of the 1920s [...] In the summer of 1925, when he needed money, he sold the Modern Library to Bennett Cerf and Donald S. Klopfer. (584)

¹⁷ Neavill states that he investigated the Random House archives for his information (583-84).

Neavill explains that Cerf and Klopfer expand the scope to “include older classics and more American authors and made major improvements in format and design” (584). After incorporating their firm into The Modern Library, Inc., they begin to publish books under the “imprint” Random House: “The imprint was used initially for fine limited editions and occasional trade books published ‘at random.’ After the Crash and the subsequent collapse of the limited editions market, they turned Random House into a general trade publisher” (584). Later, in 1934 Random House becomes “the corporate name, and the Modern Library became a subsidiary of its offspring” (585). The Modern Library exists well before the creation of Random House and much earlier than the subsequent Illustrated Modern Library.

Despite such shortages, as Carl F. Kaestle and Janice A. Radway explain, a large potential target reading audience in mid-twentieth century North America centers around printed text’s contemporary social and cultural importance: “[B]etween 1880 and 1940 the production, distribution, and consumption of print was so pervasive a part of daily life in the United States that it became the habitual arena for the achievement of all sorts of purposes, from business to religion, from leisure to organizational life” (Kindle Locations 45654-56).¹⁸ Additionally, previous censorship regarding overt sexuality, homosexuality,

¹⁸ Neavill notes that World War II “affected the kinds of books people were interested in reading,” concluding that the “psychological uncertainties and dislocations of wartime also affected the kinds of books that were in demand. There is evidence of increased demand for books dealing with human values, especially philosophy and poetry (586). Bennett Cerf confirms this in “Trade Winds” from the June 20, 1942 edition of *The Saturday Review*: “Fiction has taken the worst shellacking. Bookstores all over the country report to *Publishers’ Weekly* that aside from the few top bestsellers, new novels are floundering badly. Detective stories are holding up better than Westerns. Light romances—the kind that were once manufactured for the circulating library trade—are a drug on the market. In the standard reprint lines, volumes of philosophy and humor have come to the fore, and there has been an increased demand for anthologies of poetry,

and other “obscenities” were part of the foundation of written word legal censorship throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.¹⁹ Paul S. Boyer contextualizes how censorship radically changes in the 1940s:

By the 1940s Anthony Comstock seemed a quaint and remote figure, and the phrase ‘Banned in Boston’ evoked only nostalgia for a distant era. Nevertheless, understanding the history of print culture in modern America requires a firm grasp of the half-century process that pulverized a once-powerful genteel code and vastly extended First Amendment protection of the printed word. (Kindle Location 51299)

While one can observe that by the time Dalí’s colorful and sensual imagery is utilized by The Illustrated Modern Library such censorship is basically legal history, the semi-nude, arguably erotic figures in the compositions of some of Dalí’s *Don Quixote* illustrations, especially the first color plate, *Don Quixote’s First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*, certainly would have added to the material appeal of the text, geared towards a general U.S. target reader population now not subject to such stringent censorship laws. It is important to note that more than ten years earlier in 1934, despite censorship, Random House successfully publishes James Joyce’s *Ulysses*. This is perhaps the most important publishing accomplishment in the history of Random House.

Yet only ten years after *Ulysses* is published in North America, Munson defies previous censorship by proposing a question to North American readers in March 1944 in *The English Journal* regarding the re-publication of classic nineteenth century texts:

“Who are our favorite nineteenth-century authors?” (113). Munson notes that there had

too. Books from the warfront still have the call, but the law of diminishing returns is beginning to operate” (20).

¹⁹ See Boyer for a historical study that presents legal case law regarding North American book censorship from the 1800s through mid-1900s.

been an increase in North American interest in Dickens, an author not unknown to censors,²⁰ ten years earlier in “early New Deal America when the reforming temperament, shocked by the blackness of the depression, was seizing upon literature as an engine of social change” (113). The purpose of the article is to establish how, in 1944, “in this fifth year of the second World War,” (113) did nineteenth-century authors stand up to more modern authors. Specifically, Munson asks: “How does it stand today with Dickens in a time of expanded national income and shortage of manpower?” (113). The last reference is crucial in our ability to contextualize what difficulties the North American publishers encountered during and after World War II, with a shortage of manpower and supplies.²¹ The key is found in the relationship between books, classic texts, popular culture, and social reform.

Bennett Cerf explains in his autobiography *At Random: The Reminiscences of Bennett Cerf* (1977), that the difficulties that paper shortages during World War II holds for Random House are challenging but not necessarily debilitating:

Publishing during the war was not just a matter of bringing out war books. It was also *business as usual—in fact, more business than usual*. We soon found out that gasoline rationing and the military preemption of space on trains and planes made travel extremely difficult, so that many people even found it impossible to get to the movies very often (and of course there was no television). So people stayed home and read books, and the market expanded tremendously. The Book-of-the-Month Club, for example, more than doubled its membership during the war, and Reader's Digest doubled its circulation. (*At Random* 170, my emphasis)

²⁰ For example, Margaret Bald reminds us that due to anti-Semitic references in Dickens's *Oliver Twist*, specifically the character Fagin referred to as “the Jew,” resulted in protests in Brooklyn, New York in 1949 by parents who refused to allow their children to read the text (226).

²¹ Neavill signals the publishing paper shortage as economically based, originating in the forests. North America's forest industry diverted its products to the war effort because they earned more money (586).

It is therefore significant to note that, for Random House, publishing during the war is profitable and that supply shortages other than paper boost the sales of their texts.

Yet paper shortages do affect and challenge Random House and Cerf. However, such challenges are specifically addressed by Cerf and others at the publishing house in various creative ways, including asking for and receiving donations by the Catholic Church (Cerf, *At Random* 188-89). Cerf clarifies the ongoing problem that paper shortages hold for Random House:

The only thing that had hampered our business during the war years was that paper was scarce and rationed by the War Production Board. We could have published many more books, but we couldn't produce them because our paper quota was based on what we had used in certain previous years. This led to a very interesting chain of events that had important consequences for Random House. (*At Random* 188)

One of these events is the infringement of paperback books into the market of hardbound texts. With the success of Pocket Books with Simon and Shuster and Penguin Books in England, Cerf reflects on this specific concern:

We immediately saw the threat to our business. Grosset practically had a corner on the hardbound reprint market, books that sold mainly in drugstores at seventy-nine cents and a dollar twenty-nine a copy. They were not really in competition with Modern Library; they reprinted more popular books than we did, and theirs were full-sized books. [...] But paperbacks were beginning to cut into Modern Library by doing non-copyright titles like *Moby Dick* and *The Scarlet Letter*, books that we had more or less had a monopoly on. They were hurting us, and the thought of one firm, Simon and Schuster, controlled by Marshall Field, having the original publishing unit, the hardbound reprint and the paperback, too, was frightening. They could go to an author and say, "Not only can we publish your book. We can guarantee you the hardbound reprint and the paperback." That would be a package deal no other publisher could match. (*At Random* 195)

Cerf explains that, due to shortages, the North American public begins to read classic texts instead of traveling or going to the movies and that part of that phenomenon is afforded by the popularity of paperback books: "We soon found out that gasoline

rationing and the military pre-emption of space on trains and planes made travel extremely difficult, so that many people even found it impossible to get to the movies very often (and of course there was no television). So people stayed home and read books, and the market expanded tremendously” (*At Random* 170).²²

Additionally, it is significant to note that although faced with paper shortages, Random House is able to print classic texts throughout World War II without sacrificing quality. In this manner, the 1946 *Don Quixote* edition does not differ from the other classic texts that the publishing house chooses to print as part of the series. Each receives the same attention to detail as set forth by Random House standards. Different employees within Random House spearhead the development of each text. This includes cover design, font size, typeset, image placement, frontispieces, paper, binding, artist contracts and disputes, and many other issues related to the printing of a text. Further, key employees and editors, including Cerf, propose and vote on the texts they seek to

²² Indeed, this would be an ongoing problem for Random House, as the classic series printed by The Illustrated Modern Library were all hardcover books. In the June 2, 1951 article “Trade Winds” in *The Saturday Review*, Cerf states: “Quarter books continue on their merry way, burgeoning all over the place, in fact, into thirty-five-cent and half-dollar ‘double volumes.’ One new entry in the latter category contains two complete novels and nine short stories by assorted authors of distinction and looks for all the world like Gimbel’s basement. Regular trade-book publishers have been worrying so much about the inroads of television that many have failed to realize the havoc that has been wrought by the inexpensive paperbacks. Hard-bound reprints—the kind that once flourished in drugstores at sixty-nine cents to one dollar and forty-nine cents—are practically extinct” (4). Bernice Kauffman in “Books: Hard-Bound, Hard-Cased, Hard-Covered, Limp-Covered” (1952) notes how the term “paper-back” causes “a reversal in bookbinding nomenclature. Whereas the board-bound used to be the normal and expected kind of book it is now necessary to use the qualifying adjectives *hard-bound*, *hard-cased*, or *hard-covered* when one refers to any book not in paper covers” (148). Yet Random House and The Modern Library also published paperback books, in direct competition with The Illustrated Modern Library. The result is that the hardcover series stood out as collectible.

illustrate and publish during the years 1944-47. Essentially, Cerf focuses on quality and not quantity.

Concomitantly, inspired by a survey made by Mary Barrett, the book review editor for *Library Journal* in 1943, Munson notes that B. D. Zevin, vice-president of the World Publishing Company, in a letter to Barrett attributes film and other popular cultural production for the success of the revival of classic texts:

The explanation for the continuing popularity is, I am sure, obvious. These are among the great creative and deathless works of the greatest writers, representing books which are an integral part of civilization and world culture. The press, radio, and motion pictures, and other forces have helped to keep these books alive. Educators have, of course, been vastly instrumental in keeping these books actively in use. (Munson 117)

The importance academia wields in the success of these texts is thus underscored. The combination of education and popular culture contributes to the revival of classic nineteenth-century texts in 1944. However, Munson identifies, thanks to Barrett's survey, another important factor in the specific success of *Leaves of Grass* (1855) by Walt Whitman and *Looking Backward* (1888) by Edward Bellamy (113). This is significant because their success in part leads to the success of other classic texts, including *Don Quixote* and other classics published in The Illustrated Modern Library collections.

Regarding Whitman, Munson notes that the initial popularity of this text with The Modern Library edition leads to its publication in The Illustrated Modern Library (114). Yet Munson cites a "violent attack upon democracy of the past decade" as inspiration for the popularity of the illustrated edition of *Leaves of Grass*:

Word from abroad reached the general public that democracy was "decadent"; the jeers of Goebbels and of Virginio Gayda were heard and the first-shakings of Hitler and Mussolini were noted. Their democratic faith challenged, the general public sought to fortify it; they found their way back to the prophet of democracy.

As if thirsty for a religion of democracy, they began quaffing Whitman. They did not go back to *The Federalist* and the springs of republicanism; *they did not have an intellectual hunger but an emotional craving*. They went to the chanter of the *élan* of democracy. An almost instinctive search for a democratic *élan* at a time when many were asserting that the *élan* of the future had passed to totalitarian nations is the explanation that seems to fit the spontaneous rise in popularity of Whitman. (117, my emphasis)

Such an emotional craving rather than an intellectual one sets the stage for Dalí's reception in 1946 and, ironically, the defense of democracy against totalitarian regimes through the satisfaction of an emotional hunger as explained by Munson can explain the North American popular reception Dalí's public persona. It is ironic that Dalí's illustrations for the 1946 *Don Quixote* are indeed didactic and possess pedagogical qualities. Further, censorship did not seem to enter the publishing arena at this particular time because of the First Amendment changes, mentioned above by Boyer. Dalí's uncensored and energetic *élan* overshadows his past political associations and finds its emotional niche in post-World War II North America.

Regarding Bellamy's utopian science fiction novel, Munson cites a keen interest in social reform as the foundation of North American interest in casting aside European dogma:

Americans are keenly interested in social reform. The characteristics of social reform in America from the muckrakers to the New Dealers have been non-European. We have been affected by the dogmas of Marx, but we have obstinately refused to be doctrinaire. *Looking Backward*, which, by the way, is skillfully and audaciously constructed and written in a masterly style, springs from us and is American to the core. It suits a country where class structure is not rigid, where, indeed, social habits of mind are remarkably fluid. It foregoes the class struggle of Marx and foresees a peaceful evolution into a planned economy [...] To speak in oversimplified terms, if we can hold Hitler responsible for the good of a renewed interest in Whitman, we can credit the New Deal with giving a broad impetus toward a wider reading of Bellamy. (117-18)²³

²³ The political polemics surrounding Dalí in relation to Stalin, Hitler, and Franco will be analyzed in future investigations, although in Chapter 4, Zalman explains that for Surrealism to

The continued effects of Roosevelt's New Deal continue to resonate at the time Dalí illustrates an entire edition of *Don Quixote* for the first time in 1946.

Munson concludes that "We want our faith in democracy chanted and sung by a bard [...] We want literature" (118). While this specifically explains how nineteenth-century authors enjoy popularity in 1940s North America, it also helps explain how Dalí's *Don Quixote* is immediately successful as a classic text. Additionally, Dalí's illustrations add to the appeal that the text wields on the reading public through popular culture's sensationalized reception of Surrealism, although the comparative level of Surrealism in the illustrations is lower than in his popular paintings. Concomitantly, within the genre of illustrated texts, now that paper is no longer scarce, Random House and Dalí move forward in 1946 to produce a high-quality product. Indeed, returning to the epigraph above, Cerf expounds:

We consider Cervantes's *Don Quixote* one of the most important books in the world. Actions speak louder than words, so we offer in proof of our conviction the fact that we have now in print three different editions of the book. It is volume number 174 of our regular "Modern Library," volume number 15 (with aquatones by Gustave Doré) in the "Modern Library Giants," and finally, a feature of our new "Illustrated Modern Library," with illustrations in full color by Salvador Dalí. All three editions, incidentally, are selling very well indeed. ("Words" 303)

Dalí's *Don Quixote* comprises one of three editions published by Random House and its subsidiaries—The Modern Library and The Illustrated Modern Library. It is afforded no more special attention than the other editions because each one is designed for a specific reading audience. Dalí's 1946 text is simply one of the series mentioned above. Here,

succeed in the United States, all political overtones were glossed over or even removed (2-26). However, by trying to erase Dalí's political polemics from popular consumption in North America, Dalí's sociopolitical inconsistencies were instead underscored.

again, I must emphasize that the reason Dalí's edition is unique is due to the high quality of the illustrations.

Random House Archives

To investigate the historic significance of the 1946 *Don Quixote*, I spent one week at Columbia University in New York to investigate the Rare Book & Manuscript Library and the Random House Archives for any correspondence between the Dalís and Random House or The Illustrated Modern Library. Additionally, I searched for any documents relating to the materiality of the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* and the organization underlying its production. My initial search revealed four items of correspondence between the Dalís and Random House and they are included in this chapter.²⁴ These documents show that there was a necessary delay in printing the 1946 *Don Quixote* caused by a change in printing facilities and that the Dalís were not happy about it because they could not sell the watercolors to a waiting buyer. This constitutes the most prominent polemic surrounding the ten watercolors and the Dalís in relation to the publication of this text.

In three of those letters, two dated January 12 and February 2, 1946 with a third undated, the Dalís inquire as to the reason why there is a delay in publishing the text.²⁵

²⁴ A copy of the original documents written in French are found in Appendix A. Reproduced with permission from Columbia University.

²⁵ I cite both Salvador and Gala Dalí here because it is unclear whether one or both authored the letters, although based on my research at Columbia, Gala's handwriting becomes quite clearly distinguishable from Salvador Dalí's handwriting and that she indeed writes the letters included here. The question remains whether Gala authored all of the letters independently or in collaboration with Salvador Dalí.

Although it is clear that Dalí's wife Gala, who served as his manager, physically wrote the three letters, Salvador Dalí signs the January 12 letter directed to Bennett Cerf, although the salutation is directed to "Mr. Bennett":

My new address will be Beverly Hills Hotel
Beverly Hills Calif
Salvador Dalí

12 January 46

Dear Mr. Bennett

I would ask of you, if you would be kind enough, to impress upon Random House the importance of leaving the original illustrations for Don Quixote available on the date promised and to which Bignou Gallery has committed with its client (Mr. George Kelly, Bignou Gallery, tel. Plaza 3.2568). I will be infinitely thankful to you for your help in this matter.

Sincerely yours,
Salvador Dalí. (Salvador Dalí and Gala Dalí, Correspondence 1)

In this first letter, the Dalís clearly indicate the importance of making the original watercolors available to be purchased by an interested buyer.

In the second letter addressed to Roy A. Freiman at Random House, dated February 2, also written by Dalí's wife Gala, although Dalí often referred to himself in the third person in his narratives. Here, the Dalís refer to a "certain date," indicating a possible delay by Random House in making the illustrations available for sale:

S. Dali: % Mr. Jack Warner
2 Feb 46

Dear Mr. Freiman

Dali begs me to tell you that he just received your letter sent to Mr. George Keller, Director of Bignou Gallery, the one according to which a promise was made by someone from Random House committing to the sale of the Illustration on a certain date.

Dali asks you kindly to do everything possible to ease the situation and not miss this business affair. (Salvador Dalí and Gala Dalí, Correspondence 2)

The desire to sell the illustrations for *Don Quixote* is obviously quite strong with the Dalís. The tension in the language used is particularly visible in the phrases “Dalí begs me,” “a promise was made,” and “facilitate the situation” so that they may not miss an important business venture.

In the third undated correspondence by the Dalís, they mention how Random House is utilizing the illustrations specifically to help sell the book:

Without a doubt you have been kind to lend the illustrations which furthermore have had great success in the press and which are being prepared for the release of the book.

With hopes for the help you would bring to smooth the circumstances, I remain

Sincerely yours,
Salvador Dali

P.S. Per Mr. Harry Abrams I have been asking for some time for you to reserve and send us several copies of *Don Quixote*.
Many Thanks. (Salvador Dalí and Gala Dalí, Correspondence 3)

Through this language, one can observe that Random House utilized the illustrations for public relations and marketing purposes. The phrase “smooth the circumstances” indicates the increasing tension between the Dalís and Random House regarding the release of the illustrations to be sold to the potential buyer. It is apparent that the Dalís do not understand the reason behind the delay, or simply do not care, with the end goal being the sale of the watercolors.

In the fourth document, R. A. Freiman from Random House responds to Gala Dalí—confirming that he understands that Gala is indeed the person penning the letters—

on February 7, 1946 in which he apologizes for the delay of the publication of *Don Quixote* and explains that there is a problem with the facility charged with its printing.²⁶

Dear Mrs. Dalí:

I have your letter of February 2nd and make haste to reply in an effort to assure you that I understand fully Dalí's concern in the delay of his magnificent illustrations for DON QUIXOTE. After all, one must consider that there must have been many people anxious to purchase these illustrations when they saw the show, and to cause the lucky purchaser such a long wait is indeed sad.

Mr. Keller has told you about the unfortunate delay caused by the sale of the print plant which was had engaged to do this work for us. (This is the only plant whose standards are such that we would entrust them with Dalí's work.)

New arrangements are being made, however, and we look forward to seeing these illustrations soon. I assure you of my personal interest in the matter and deep concern over your inconvenience.

Cordially yours,
R. A. Freiman
RANDOM HOUSE, INC.

P.S. Of course Dalí shall have several books as soon as they are off the press.
(Freiman, Correspondence 1)

This letter documents the delay in printing the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* and that said delay is based on having to find a print plant to replace the one originally contracted.

What is clear is that Random House intended to ensure that the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* would be produced in the highest quality possible, underscoring their ongoing high standards for the series despite the shortages mentioned above.²⁷

²⁶ I do not include the complete letter here because the original is written in English and can be found in Appendix A.

²⁷ Future investigations will include the search for who purchased the original watercolors, if they indeed still exist, or perhaps some prints of the original offset watercolor printings. The Dalí Museum in Tampa, Florida should prove useful in this search, as their collection is based on works purchased by A. Reynolds Morse and his wife in New York at the time Dalí illustrated

North American Reception: *Don Quixote* (1946), Dalí, and Peter Motteux's English Translation

Before fleeing to the United States in 1940 in exile, Dalí had declared that the North American population would not understand Surrealism and that his return to classicism, in one sense, dumbed-down his surrealist style to ensure popular reception of his imagery (Gibson 404). We have seen how Dalí makes inroads into the New York art scene in the 1930s by establishing ties with Alfred Barr, Julien Levy, and A. Reynolds Morse, among others. Yet Dalí's increasing popularity stems not from a general understanding of Surrealism or its ideology or methodology by the North American public; rather, both Dalí's and Surrealism's entertainment factor ensured their success within a public that was ignorant of the ideological and methodological underpinnings. Indeed, it appears that Random House owner Bennett Cerf confirms North American common man's ignorance both of Dalí and his work in his column "Trade Winds" from the February 24, 1945 edition of *The Saturday Review*: "The Woodward and Lothrop Book Department is still buzzing delightedly over a customer who demanded 'The Autobiography of Stevedore Dalí'" (21).

The same ignorance—or at least lack of interest in said ideology and methodology—is relevant when analyzing mid-twentieth century academia's reception of Motteux's 1700-03 translation utilized in the 1946 Random House edition of *Don Quixote*: it simply did not matter that it was an eighteenth century, French cockney colloquial translation, categorized as such in 1885 by translator John Ormsby (2). In other

Don Quixote. Proof that the Dalís placed the originals on the market is found in the four correspondence documents in Appendix A.

words, utilizing such an outdated translation did not affect its reception as a didactic text valuable to scholars in the mid-twentieth century.

Regarding popular culture reception of translations, John B. Hench in “Building on the 1940s” maintains that: “For Cerf, wartime provided an excellent opportunity to plan the postwar future of the firm. He used the time and the profits to position the firm’s Modern Library series for the anticipated postwar boom by replacing ‘*bad translations with good new ones*’ and by making new stereotype plates for dozens of the series’ titles” (Kindle Locations 64528-530, my emphasis). The replacement of bad translations with good ones—that takes place at the time Cerf publishes Dalí’s *Don Quixote*—suggests that Motteux’s translation is considered one of the better ones. Although there is no traceable relation between the Motteux translation and Dalí’s illustrations, and apart from the didactic quality of Motteux’s eighteenth-century translation in 1940s academia, the translation of the text itself is not necessarily what sells the edition to the general public, but rather the high-quality images and the ink and paper used to reproduce them.

Even though paper rationing ends after the end of World War II in 1945, by 1946 publishers struggle to fill back orders and Random House begins to print most titles, declaring that most would “be back in stock by March” (Neavill 593-94). This also explains how Random House / The Illustrated Modern Library could print *Don Quixote* utilizing lavish color on high-quality paper. Ironically, the delay in printing the text results in an improvement in paper and ink quality because the prior paper shortage resolves itself just in time for the 1946 printing of *Don Quixote*, later celebrated as part of the 400th anniversary of Cervantes’s birth in 1947. Indeed, Robert M. Hutchins, then

Chancellor of the University of Chicago in 1947, reflects on *Don Quixote* and contextualizes it in post-World War II North America:

It is easy to laugh at the “Knight of the Woeful Countenance” as he jousts with sheep and windmills. But our age can not afford that laughter. The folly of the Knight is our folly. And the myopia of Sancho Panza is our own unreflecting realism. Together they represent man, or, as Sainte-Beuve declares, “The Bible of Humanity.” Cervantes wrote the tragic-comic interpretation as a conclusion to his times. But the folly of man is no longer tragic-comic. The armies today are not flocks of sheep, and the weapons are more final than lances or swords. Laughter, even thoughtful laughter, is no longer permissible. Sancho does not have a lifetime to learn just administration, and the Knight may not be able to die in a peaceful bed. (301)

Also in 1947, professor and art critic Henry Grattan Doyle reviews Dalí’s 1946 edition of *Don Quixote*. He notes Random House’s influence on the popularity of the text with the North American public:

The position that *Don Quixote* holds in world literature is demonstrated by the fact that the “Modern Library” includes among its offerings three editions (in English translation) of the immortal work: a complete edition, without illustrations, priced at \$1.10; a “Modern Library Giant,” a full-sized volume, with sixteen illustrations by Gustave Doré, at \$1.95; and this new edition, in the “Illustrated Modern Library,” of the “First Part” only, in Motteux’s translation, with ten double-pages in color and twenty-nine black-and-white drawings by Salvador Dalí, at \$2.00. (“Cervantes Saavedra” 284)

The prices clearly reflect the value—almost double than that of unillustrated editions—that illustrations add to the Doré and Dalí editions: Doré’s edition was .85 cents more expensive than the non-illustrated edition, with Dalí’s being the most expensive at \$2.00.²⁸ Dalí’s prestige garnered from his public persona and quality of illustrations,

²⁸ However, as Neavill notes, inflation after the war caused the price of books to double from their pre-war prices (594). Nevertheless, an .85 to .90 cent increase in price, in comparison with a non-illustrated edition of *Don Quixote* at that time, was significant and therefore underscores the selling power of illustrations. This helps explain why Random House dedicated so many resources to producing their Illustrated Modern Library series of classic texts during and after World War II.

especially his skills at color, make his edition trendier than the full-size edition that includes illustrations by Doré, which is part of the Modern Library Giants collection by Random House. As Cerf mentions in the quote above, all three editions of *Don Quixote* published by Random House sell very well.

The value of Doyle's review not only lies with the list of editions and prices but also in his description of Dalí's illustrations:

Not being an expert in "modern" art, I shall merely say that Dalí's illustrations are in general not as weird as some examples of his work, and in fact are usually not as incomprehensible as persons with old-fashioned ideas about art might expect. Some of them, indeed, such as the one portraying the blanketing of Sancho, really seem to represent the scene depicted; perhaps in this respect they are un-Dalían. In any case, many readers will doubtless enjoy the well-reproduced illustrations, and all will appreciate the really fine typography. A novel feature of this series is the heavy and durable transparent acetate jacket, which ought to protect the book and binding for a long time. ("Cervantes Saavedra" 284)

The "well-reproduced illustrations" speak volumes as to the quality of both ink and paper used for this edition, especially after publishing houses in general had endured previous economic hardship and shortages. The "fine typography" also signals an attention to quality control in this edition and, indeed, in the whole series produced by The Illustrated Modern Library.²⁹ Further, the absence of commentary regarding the Motteux translation, combined with the description of Dalí's work as not as "weird" or "incomprehensible" as other Dalinian works, suggest that the pairing of Random House with Dalí succeeds in producing a quality product. Yet more importantly, Doyle's reception of Dalí's

²⁹ Random House / Illustrated Modern Library was clearly dedicated to reproducing illustrated editions of classic texts worthy of a high level of attention to detail, as can be observed in other classics published between 1944 and 1946, particularly the series published in 1945-46, including Fiodor Dostoyevsky's *The Brothers Karamazov* (1945), Henry David Thoreau's *Walden* (1946), Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1946), and Emily Brontë's *Wuthering Heights* (1946).

illustrations as less weird underscores the painter's emphasis not on Surrealism but on the classical style and tone of the illustrations.

Doyle's language suggests that Dalí's classical ambition is succeeding. That is, Dalí's imagery relates to the text it illustrates and, although the images reflect varying degrees of an oneiric tone and surrealist style,³⁰ they are more easily understood by a general reading population not necessarily educated in Surrealism as a movement other than to sell popular culture. Additionally, the sexiness of the intense color of some of the imagery—not the desublimated sexual perversion found in most Dalí's paintings—help call attention to and sell the 1946 edition.

In academic circles, the Motteux translation utilized for the 1946 Dalí edition is recommended as a valuable didactic text, easily accessible to teachers. In a 1947 letter to the editor, a writer who is also a teacher (initials A. C. H.) inquires as to the best, readily available English translation of *Don Quixote*: "Please excuse me if I am taking the liberty

³⁰ The first three color images analyzed in Chapters 4 and 5 do not display a high level of surrealistic style, as compared with other images of the 1946 edition, although scholars such as Carmen García de la Rasilla recognize the multiple horizons and other oneiric themes and techniques as clearly surrealistic ("El *Quijote*" 159). Additionally, the first three illustrations utilize all four quadrants as part of a pictorial narrative. These first three images comprise a thematic grouping of images that document the painter's successful utilization of classical angles and themes found in all quadrants. Conversely, when Dalí illustrates *Don Quixote* again in 1957 in Catalonia, the painter utilizes Surrealism to a much higher degree and classicism to a less refined degree, by firing balloons filled with paint with a harquebus—a long-barreled shotgun originating in the fifteenth century—towards lithographic stones. Compare the 1946 edition with the 1957 edition published by Joseph Foret and the 1965 edition published in Barcelona in which Dalí illustrates the text in a more surrealistic manner. Also, see the chapter titled "Du 6 Novembre 1956 au 28 Octobre 1957" in Dalí text *Histoire d'un gran livre* (1957) for photos of the harquebus methodology ("Du 6 Novembre," photos 23-30). Dalí's harquebus methodology was clearly inspired by an article by Earl Ubell in the New York Herald Tribune on Wednesday, December 12, 1956 by the discovery of "A laboratory 'gun' that shoots high-speed, hot electrified gas" and an image of this article appears in Dalí's text (Dalí, *Histoire*, "Du 6 Novembre" image 55).

of asking you which of the various English translations of Cervantes's *Don Quijote* is in your authorized opinion the best one, and where it is published to enable me to send for a copy" (Hespelt 538). E. H. Hespelt replies that in his opinion the John Ormsby translation published by Dodd Mead and Company in 1899 is the best translation, but by that time it is no longer in print (538). He also refers to the Thomas Shelton translation published by The Macmillan Company in 1900. Yet Hespelt concludes that in 1947:

The most easily accessible translation is Ozell's revision of Peter Motteux's translation, published by The Modern Library, 20 East 57th Street, New York City. The Modern Library also publishes a "Giant" edition, containing some of the Gustave Doré illustrations, and an "Illustrated Modern Library" edition, with some striking illustrations by Salvador Dalí. (538)

Documentation exists that John Ozell's revision of Peter Motteux's 1700-03 translation of *Don Quixote* holds value in mid-twentieth century North American academia, even if it is not the best translation in the print history of the text.³¹

Even later in 1954, Doyle continues to recommend the 1946 Dalí edition, which presents both the Motteux translation and Dalí illustrations as an attractive package. In a letter to the editor (directed towards Hespelt and Robert H. Williams), Doyle writes:

To the editors: I want to add a bit of information to one of your "answers," about editions of the *Quijote* with colored illustrations. The inquirer might be interested in the "Illustrated Modern Library" edition (Random House) of the Motteux translation, with colored illustrations by Salvador Dalí, published in 1946. Unfortunately, it contains the First Part only, and unfortunately may be out of print. The illustrations are less Dalí-ish than usual and are reasonably comprehensible even to an old-fashioned art-critic like me. ("To the Editors" 365)

However, Doyle emphasizes that Dalí's illustrations are understandable and the author does not comment at all to the quality of Motteux's translation. Yet the absence of

³¹ See Cervantes, *Don Quixote* 1930.

criticism regarding the quality of the translation is also significant, just as with Cerf, thereby not impeding its recommendation as a valuable edition for teachers and instructors of *Don Quixote*.

Conversely, McGraw concludes that the Motteux translation is “little more than mortar to fill in the spaces between Salvador Dalí’s forty-one artistic illustrations” (106).³² Yet the documented contemporaneous didactic and academic value afforded the 1946 edition suggests that the translation holds value for contemporary readers. Further, McGraw considers Dalí’s illustrations in the 1946 edition to also “overshadow the text” (106). Indeed, the ten color plates in the edition take up two full pages and are placed within the narrative at regular intervals and spaced exactly 64 pages apart, except for the 5th and 6th images that are spaced at 40 and 56 pages apart, respectively. The thirty-one sketches or vignettes Dalí creates for the edition are inserted within the text and, for the most part, are placed within or near the narrative they illustrate. Yet it is clear that this regular spacing—as can also be observed in the other classic texts in the series published by The Illustrated Modern Library—is common practice within the publishing house with all of the illustrated texts they publish. Yet some readers such as Stephen Miller attribute *mise-en-page* placement of both sketches and full color illustrations in this edition to Dalí and not to the employees at The Illustrated Modern Library: “[L]o principal es el trabajo del reconocido pintor que, por cualquier razón, hace dibujos y/o pinturas que acompañan, con más o menos atención a la narración, el texto léxico de una obra considerada clásica” (96).

³² McGraw is counting Dalí’s thirty-one sketches plus ten watercolors.

It is essential to note García de la Rasilla's investigations at the Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation³³ in Figueres, Spain regarding how the artist contemplates which passages he will illustrate for Random House. Before beginning the project of illustrating *Don Quixote* for Random House, the artist consults various unillustrated editions of the text to select passages he will illustrate "para seleccionar aquellos pasajes particularmente visuales y que mejor se prestaban a su interpretación surrealista" ("El *Quijote*" 154). This is significant because it relates to the selection of narrative that Dalí intends to illustrate, not to the placement of the illustrations in the text.

García de la Rasilla also notes that several editions of *Don Quixote* can be found in Dalí's library: the third edition by the Real Academia Española from 1787 with illustrations by the Carnicero brothers, an edition printed in Barcelona in 1832 with illustrations by Catalanian artist Masferrer, and four volumes of the Real Academia that reflect imagery by various artists ("El *Quijote*" 154). Among the editions is the 1941 Random House edition illustrated by Hans Alexander Mueller and an Italian edition with illustrations by Honoré Daumier, two French editions, including the 1836 edition by Louis Viardot and illustrated by Doré ("El *Quijote*" 155).³⁴ This suggests that Random House did not influence Dalí regarding which passages to illustrate or what to include (or not) in the pictorial compositions.

³³ The Gala-Salvador Dalí Foundation owns several museums, including the Dalí-Theatre Museum.

³⁴ Investigations in the Dalí-Theatre Museum in Figueres will constitute part of the next phase of my investigations towards the history behind Dalí's illustrations. Specifically, I will verify whether there is a correlation between Dalí's annotations and the final product published in 1946.

Conclusions

Due to the whirlwind of social reform, political polemics, and political change in 1940s North America and Europe, it is essential to underscore how unlikely it is for The Illustrated Modern Library and Salvador Dalí to pair up and publish an illustrated edition of *Don Quixote*. Yet it is precisely this combination of rapid changes that creates the middle-class reading public—thirsty for “social reform lifted to an imaginative plane” (Munson 118), as provided by the narratives contained in classic texts—that enables the success not only of Dalí’s *Don Quixote* but of other classic illustrated texts in the series published by The Illustrated Modern Library and Random House. Bennett Cerf and many others at Random House defy the odds represented by paper and other material shortages to fill the lacuna felt by the North American public who, now unable to go to the cinema in an era before the advent of television, find refuge in reading classic texts and viewing the illustrations.

Indeed, illustrated classic texts are particularly appealing to this public and the imagery helps fill the visual void that the lack of cinema represents. They simply no longer possess the means to escape reality, hence underscoring Munson’s clarification of an emotional rather than an intellectual need for consulting classics (117). Yet this same reading public continues to be influenced by Roosevelt’s New Deal and social reform therefore remains a primary inspiration for reflecting upon history and literature for clarification, especially the classic texts, and the desire to elevate reality to imagination as narrated by the bards of classic literature. This duality of reality and fantasy is precisely what Cervantes creates in *Don Quixote* and Salvador Dalí faithfully reduplicates in his illustrations in 1946.

With Dalí now firmly established in his classical trajectory within a profitable market in the United States after World War II, the painter's two-fold methodology—classicism and publicity stunts designed to sell his outlandish and kitsch sexualized paintings within the art world—overshadows the perception of his artistic skills regarding the illustration of classic texts. As we have seen, it is essential to separate Dalí's kitsch paintings and public antics from the genre of illustrated texts so that the prior does not overshadow the latter. Yet that is what happens, as will be revealed in Chapter 4, where I will examine how art critic Clement Greenberg changes his opinion about Dalí: from an artist who produces low art and kitsch for popular consumption to a competent artist clearly influenced by Renaissance and Baroque classicism and methodologies.

Additionally, now that we have seen that Dalí's expertise at illustrating texts establishes the 1946 *Don Quixote* as an important edition within the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*, Dalí's own painting skills, techniques, and methodologies—specifically his ability to produce classical imagery—will also be analyzed in Chapter 4, especially by focusing on references to mythology and Renaissance classicism. I will further investigate how Surrealism situates itself firmly in the burgeoning consumer culture in mid-century North America, as well as the classifications of kitsch, and the development of Dalí's famed paranoiac-critical method. Finally, didactic and pedagogical qualities in Dalí's illustrations will be revealed in Chapter 5 through analyses of Dalí's second and third watercolors for the 1946 *Don*

Quixote, underscoring the presence of a diegetic pictorial narrative and what I perceive to be a respect of epic storytelling, negating any previous categorization as low art.³⁵

³⁵ A theme for future investigations. If Dalí indeed understands the canonization of a text through epic storytelling, then his choice to illustrate *Don Quixote's First Sally* as the 1946 text's first illustration, in which Dalí renders epic myth, would be significant.

CHAPTER 4

THE DALINIAN CLASSICAL HAND

The Surrealist represents his more or less fantastic images in sharp and literal detail, as if they had been posed for him. Seldom does he violate any of the canons of academic technique, and he vies with and sometimes imitates color photography, even to the very quality of his paint. Dali's discontinuous planes and contradictory perspectives approximate photomontage. (Clement Greenberg, "Surrealist" 229)

[Dali's] exploration of the possibilities of architectural ruins, the outmoded, and the fragmented body as the main subjects of his work in the 1940s is specific to the time period in which he experienced the American context. By bringing the past into the present and at the same time making the present obsolete, Dali asserted his own identity in America and questioned his place as an artist and cultural critic during the convoluted years of the Second World War. (Gisela M. Carbonell-Coll 155)

Throughout his life, Salvador Dalí strives to marginalize himself sexually, socially, and artistically while maximizing such marginalization to his advantage. Sexual sublimation resurfaces through the desublimation of sexualized imagery for which, in part, he becomes famous as a surrealist painter. Sociopolitical polemics surrounding Dalí are strategically cast aside and purposefully overshadowed by his commercial success as a seller of kitsch and popular culture, especially in the United States in the 1940s. The development of his paranoiac-critical method ensures his capitalistic success first by providing a justification for the public abandonment of European Surrealism and its mandatory focus on automatism and second by enabling Dalí to methodologically pursue

the rendering of dreams and dream-like imagery, especially after Freud had declared in his now-famous meeting with Dalí that he preferred a conscious representation from Surrealism. Such a methodology does nothing less than justify going against Freud, considered by Dalí as the father of Surrealism.

All of this describes Dalí the man and the artist only as viewed through his most popular artistic medium, his paintings. Yet when the Catalan painter illustrates classic books—specifically *Don Quixote* 1946—Dalí sets apart and isolates his interpretation of Cervantine imagery, even though he utilizes Surrealism to varying degrees in the ten watercolor images he produces for the text. Dalí essentially protects his interpretation of quixotic iconography from his own publicly sexualized polemics fomented through his outrageous public persona and associated sensationalist paintings, instead demonstrating a respect for the Cervantine narratives and epic storytelling he chooses to illustrate. In these illustrations, Dalí focuses on Renaissance classicism and methodologies to illustrate *Don Quixote* for the first time, ensuring that his own pictorial narratives render the original passages in a manner identifiable by the beholder.

However, both Dalí and Surrealism are considered associated with low art in 1946 North America and Dalí is one of the most marketable and famous producers of kitsch. This conflict results in artists and art critics receiving Dalí as an artist of low art particularly because of Surrealism's high-profile role in selling such low art for popular culture consumption. While there is evidence of an abundance of Dalinian low art in 1940s North America, I maintain here that the illustrations Dalí creates for the 1946 *Don Quixote* do not contain sensationalized sexual imagery or kitsch associated with low art;

rather, they reflect Baroque and Renaissance classicism that raise the categorization of this imagery from a low-brow labeling of kitsch to high art.

In the first part of this chapter, we will analyze the reception of both Surrealism and Dalí in 1940s North America as consumerist kitsch in order to establish why Dalí's illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote* were categorized as low art by Dalí biographers Ian Gibson and Haim Finkelstein, and especially as exclaimed by one of the most influential North American art critics in the twentieth century, Clement Greenberg. Yet Greenberg's own assessment of Surrealism and Dalí changes over the years, revealing a more respectful art historical reception of Dalí and his overall oeuvre as closely tied to Renaissance classical methodologies.

We will analyze the first watercolor illustration *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora* from an art historical perspective, utilizing art historical terminology to document examples of Dalinian classical compositions through theme, form, and classic mythological imagery. We will see how Dalí applies Renaissance and Baroque classical methodologies to the first watercolor image of his 1946 *Don Quixote* as an artist who publicly rejects traditional European Surrealist methodologies such as regression and automatism (Finkelstein, *Salvador Dalí's Art* 227). Although Dalí invents the paranoiac-critical method to facilitate the pictorial rendering of dreams, the degree of the paranoia and madness represented by Dalí's interpretation of Surrealism in this first color image is comparatively low.¹

¹ Other color plates in the 1946 *Don Quixote* reveal a higher level of Surrealism, specifically a paranoiac, hallucinatory, and dream-like state. See the sixth watercolor illustration *Don Quixote and the Helmet of Mambrino* (Cervantes, *The First Part* 302-03) in which Dalí renders his famous fried eggs. In this composition, Dalí wields Surrealism much more distinctly. The first three watercolors that Dalí creates for this edition constitute a grouping due to the artist's

Additionally, because one of the axial themes fundamental to the reception of Surrealism and Dalí in North America is the differentiation between high and low art, as well as between consumerist products and art that demonstrates didactic and pedagogical qualities, we will analyze the illustration by framing this theme through three questions previously presented in this dissertation. First, is Renaissance classicism visible in this illustration and does Dalí demonstrate a methodology that is considered classical, establishing his illustrations as high art? Second, does Dalí desubliminate his previously sublimated sexuality in this image, as he does in many of his famous paintings, thus distinguishing it as a consumerist product? Finally, to begin establishing Dalí's place in the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* over the last four centuries, does Dalí render Don Quixote as a universalized romantic hero or a fool?²

Regarding the question as to whether Renaissance classicism is visible in the illustrations analyzed here, within art historical analyses, one of the fundamental questions regarding a pictorial narrative is whether the actors portrayed in the composition interact with each other. As we will see, this is another aspect of Dalí's compositions that confirms a classic pictorial narrative in the first three color illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote*. Although these illustrations demonstrate an air of Surrealism through multiple horizons and, in two instances, the principle narration of said narrative through an inanimate object, the overall level of Surrealism is low in comparison with

utilization of all four quadrants to tell a pictorial narrative and the comparatively lower level of Surrealistic imagery. As we will see in Chapter 5, the second and third watercolors constitute a sub-group based on interactions between fantasy and reality.

² Dalí's role within the overarching print history of illustrators of *Don Quixote* will be analyzed in more detail in Chapter 5.

other paintings by Dalí during this period. Dalí focuses on Renaissance classical line and form and Baroque realism within these three images, although in some of the other ten watercolors that Dalí produces for this same edition, the painter utilizes a much higher level of Surrealism.

Commenting on Surrealism and its relationship to Renaissance classicism, Clement Greenberg in “Surrealist Painting” (1944-45) contextualizes Surrealism as an artistic movement in the 1930s and 1940s: “The Surrealist image is thus a new object to be posed and arranged, but it requires no fundamental change in the conventions of painting as established by the Renaissance” (230). Such a statement suggests that surrealist painters, including Dalí, are trained painters who follow the same methods established in the Renaissance. Greenberg specifically compares Dalí with other artists such as Ernst and Tanguy, among others, “who do indeed see new things, but no differently in essence than painters of the past would have seen them had they accepted Surrealist notions of subject matter” (“Surrealist” 230).

Regarding a didactic quality of Dalí’s pictorial narratives and the artist’s relationship with Cervantes’s original narrative he illustrates, Carmen Garcia de la Rasilla maintains that Dalí’s illustrations of the 1946 Random House *Don Quixote* render the poetic and imaginative discourse of the protagonist: “Con sus ilustraciones Dalí reclama la perspectiva quijotesca, y materializa visualmente el discurso poético e imaginativo del personaje” (“El *Quijote* Surrealista” 154). Further documenting Dalí’s inspiration by Cervantes’s use of mythology and Renaissance classicism, José María Blázquez states that: “Los dos grandes colosos de la pintura moderna española, Picasso y Dalí, siempre encontraron, como otros muchos artistas, una continua fuente de inspiración en la

mitología clásica” (238).³ I therefore maintain that the illustrations Dalí produces for the 1946 *Don Quixote* exemplify Dalí’s conceptualization of classicism—in reaction to Freud’s preference of a focus on reality—as examined in Chapter 2: “integration, synthesis, cosmogony, faith, instead of fragmentation, experimentation, scepticism” (Dalí, *The Secret Life* 354).⁴

Political Reception: Surrealism and Dalí as Kitsch in the United States

In his article “Review of the Whitney Annual and the Exhibition *Romantic Painting in America*” published in *The Nation* on January 1, 1944, Clement Greenberg, one of the most influential North American art critics, essayists, and art critics, describes Surrealism as he then perceived it:

Surrealism is the only programmatic and more or less compact aesthetic movement aside from Pre-Raphaelitism to affect directly more than one of the arts. The number of parallels between the two movements—already glimpsed by Herbert Read and R. H. Wilenski—are surprising. Both are inspired by an ambition which looked first to change the décor and then the structure itself of industrial society. Dissatisfaction with the state of the arts grew into a more radical dissatisfaction with the very quality of life, which could vent itself only through politics. (“Review” 225)

Greenberg notes that some surrealists remained true to their sociopolitical foundation by focusing on “revivalist socialism” while others fomented a new “aestheticism and religiosity” (“Review” 225). Basically, the orthodox surrealists maintained their focus on

³ Blázquez reveals a classical and mythological trajectory in Dalí’s paintings beginning in 1925 with *Venus y Cupido* (1925) and *Venus y marinero* (1925). Dalí later renders the Andromeda myth, the Three Graces, and the Sphinx in various works. Between 1936 and 1939, Dalí focuses on Venus de Milo, the Minotaur, and Narcissus. In the 1940s, Dalí portrays centaurs (238-44).

⁴ Further, as we will see in Chapter 5, Dalí succeeds—through the combination of classicism and Surrealism—in creating a diegetic pictorial narrative in which fantasy and reality interact.

socialism while an “international bohemia” of surrealists branched off who wished to “change life on the spot, without waiting for the revolution” (“Review” 225). Dalí clearly belongs in this second categorization because he rejects automatism and “branches off” to develop his paranoiac-critical method.

Indeed, Greenberg in 1944 notes the anecdotal tone to Surrealism:

The Surrealist image provides painting with new anecdotes to illustrate, just as current events supply new topics to the political cartoonist, but of itself it does not charge painting with a new subject matter. On the contrary, it has promoted the rehabilitation of academic art under a new literary disguise. The maxim *nulla sine narratione ars* is true enough, now as before, but the Surrealists have interpreted it vulgarly to mean that there can be no picture without an anecdote. (“Surrealist” 230)

However, while Greenberg highlights Surrealism in general as fixating on pictorial anecdotes, just one year later in 1945 Dalí will create in the illustrations for *Don Quixote* 1946 in which Dalí raises anecdotal narrative to diegetic classicism, as will be revealed in Chapter 5.

Greenberg’s 1944 perspective clearly shows a change in the art critic’s previous conceptualization of Surrealism as part of the avant-garde and the development of kitsch as a consumerist product. In an earlier essay “Avant-Garde and Kitsch” published in the *Partisan Review* in 1939, Greenberg writes very politically-charged analyses of the relationship between the avant-garde, kitsch, and socialism. Greenberg notes that “among the hopeful signs in the midst of the decay of our present society,” some art critics do not agree with the assessment that nothing new can be produced in the art world:

A society, as it becomes less and less able, in the course of its development, to justify the inevitability of its particular forms, breaks up the accepted notions upon which artists and writers must depend in large part for communication with their audiences. It becomes difficult to assume anything. All the verities involved by religion, authority, tradition, style, are thrown into question, and the writer or

artist is no longer able to estimate the response of his audience to the symbols and references with which he works. In the past such a state of affairs has usually resolved itself into a motionless Alexandrianism, an academicism in which the really important issues are left untouched because they involve controversy, and in which creative activity dwindles to virtuosity in the small details of form, all larger questions being decided by the precedent of the old masters. The same themes are mechanically varied in a hundred different works, and yet nothing new is produced: Statius, mandarin verse, Roman sculpture, Beaux-Arts painting, neo-republican architecture. (“Avant-Garde” 6)

What results in the 1930s is kitsch, a new cultural reaction—or overreaction—produced in the West. Greenberg defines kitsch as “popular, commercial art and literature with their chromeotypes, magazine covers, illustrations, ads, slick and pulp fiction, comics, Tin Pan Alley music, tap dancing, Hollywood movies, etc., etc.” (“Avant-Garde” 11). It is also a result of the industrial revolution “which urbanized the masses of Western Europe and America and established what is called universal literacy” (Greenberg, “Avant-Garde” 11).

In Greenberg’s 1939 essay, one that Zalman considers the author’s first major contribution to art history (Zalman 48), Greenberg traces the difference between urban and rural, capitalist and socialist, receptions of the avant-garde, including Surrealism:

Kitsch is deceptive. It has many different levels, and some of them are high enough to be dangerous to the naive seeker of true light. A magazine like the New Yorker, which is fundamentally high-class kitsch for the luxury trade, converts and waters down a great deal of avant-garde material for its own uses. Nor is every single item of kitsch altogether worthless. Now and then it produces something of merit, something that has an authentic folk flavor; and these accidental and isolated instances have fooled people who should know better. (“Avant-Garde” 13)

Yet Greenberg also rejected Surrealism’s anecdotal foundation on imagery produced from the unconscious mind. Scott Rothkopf notes that Greenberg “categorically opposed Surrealism’s pursuit of the unconscious, particularly as practiced by Salvador

Dalí (67). Rothkopf concludes that the “psychosexual concerns” marketed as sexualized imagery and “sexual motifs implicit in early Pop Art” were considered by art critics such as Greenberg as “nothing more than a curious side show” (67). Yet what Greenberg refers to as a side show documents sexual imagery in many of Dalí’s paintings that reflects how the painter desublimates his previously sublimated sexuality from the earliest traces of his classic trajectory. This sexuality is also part of what made Surrealism and much of Dalí’s works sell in the United States, kitsch or not, Pop Art or curious side show or not. It is essential to clarify, specifically regarding Dalí’s overall oeuvre in comparison with his 1946 *Don Quixote*, that kitsch—in Dalí’s case, often the desublimation of sublimated sexuality—represents the inspiration behind the popular attraction to Dalí’s paintings and other products in popular culture while classicism represents the popular and academic attraction to the illustrations of *Don Quixote*.

Commenting on popular culture, in her monograph *Consuming Surrealism in American Culture* (2015), Zalman explains that in addition to the classics, Surrealism had an immense impact on society, marketing, art, and art history in mid-twentieth century United States. While it challenged the role of politics in art and the concept of the museum as a legitimate venue for surrealist works, as mentioned by Greenberg, it also complemented popular photography, as well as the newly popular magical realism movement taking hold in the North American target reading audience. The author concludes: “Framed and re-framed for American audiences, Surrealism acted as a platform to challenge traditional ideas of modern art, because it presented art as a conceptual program that participated in contemporary life—from political events to consumer culture” (Zalman 2).

However, Surrealism had already existed long before it was subsumed by North American society. Surrealism expert Sarane Alexandrian notes that just after the sociopolitical crisis in European Surrealism in 1929 that divided the group into those that pursued a socialist agenda and those who focused on aesthetics, Surrealism's thematic content and motives changed: "From 1930 onwards surrealist art became more harsh, more violent, and more impatient to influence social life. It was now aware of its methods, of its powers to disturb and to seduce, which it wished to force to serve entirely positive ends" (94). Apart from seduction directed towards the sale of popular culture, this European Surrealism is not the same Surrealism spoon-fed to the North American public in the 1930s and 1940s.

Regarding a sociopolitical relationship with Surrealism, Zalman comments the historicity of the movement's pre-commercial development: "Even before it was taken up by commercial interests, Surrealism was muddled by its practitioners' interest in common culture" (3). Vincent B. Leitch specifically comments on the relationship between Surrealism and Marxism:

Contemporary Marxist critics and cultural studies scholars (who are indebted to Marxism) increasingly worry about the co-optation by the market (and the media) of every form of resistance, ranging across the arts and popular culture. If outrageous radical vanguard movements such as surrealism [...] can become profitable commodities, is opposition to hegemony possible? (15)

Such a polemic relationship between Surrealism and a Marxist ideology, explains Zalman, was reconfigured in the North American marketing echelons so that Surrealism—alongside Magic Realism, could be absorbed by "an American public who had little knowledge of Breton's philosophies, but understood Surrealism as set of visual

strategies, initially fashionable because of psychoanalysis and the perception that it represented universal apprehensions of modern life” (2).

Zalman explains that Surrealism’s revolutionary history is “suppressed” in North American cultural echelons so that both the cultural elite and the North American everyman from the emerging middle class after World War II can consume its imagery. Indeed, Dalí is “advertised heavily” while Breton, as a French poet whose revolutionary ideals were widely known, is suppressed (26). This is but one aspect that helps explain the success of Dalí’s 1946 *Don Quixote*, despite the political polemics surrounding the artist.

To help combat or even overshadow the political bane surrounding Dalí within the United States, Zalman outlines how New York’s Museum of Modern Art (MOMA), and especially its director Alfred Barr, “framed “Surrealism for American consumption” and how Barr and MOMA’s “endorsement helped Surrealism become a fixture in American popular culture before the more familiar moment in American art history when the developing New York School artists met the Surrealists in exile during the Second World War” (11). Basically, Barr and MOMA play down Surrealism’s socialist history specifically by not promoting French poets and Surrealism founders Paul Éluard and André Breton (14). Barr also promotes cubism, which eventually becomes more popular in the United States (16). Meanwhile, Zalman notes how Barr changes his focus away from cubism towards surrealism in an exhibition titled “Fantastic Art, Dada, Surrealism,” in which the three most important “emerging concerns of modern art” are exclaimed to the public: “the aesthetic, the social and the commercial” (17). The exhibition contains

“more than six hundred objects, [and] was the first museum survey of Surrealism” (Dervaux 15).

Later, Barr focuses on the “psychological visualization of the contemporary social sphere” (Zalman 18) and art critics follow suit. Zalman underscores the contemporary reception of Surrealism as a “social phenomenon” by the 1930s through “the fusion of social and aesthetic interests” (18). This leads to Surrealism’s popularity as a marketing and advertising tool to sell fashion and other high-end consumer products. Surrealism is no longer radical; it is all the rage (19).⁵

Dalí fits right in to this fad in the 1940s through his “dandyish personality quick to charm with his broken English” (Zalman 26). Indeed, Zalman observes how Dalí cultivates his public persona very successfully: “With flair, Dalí caught the attention of the popular press by assuming the role of an idiosyncratic artiste [...] Of course Dalí’s persona was quite carefully cultivated, and his relationship to the press, in which he took personal pride, was a central component of that persona” (26). Dalí becomes the public persona associated with Surrealism in North America (26).

Zalman explains how Dalí’s antics overshadow his art and how his commercial success results in a division demanded by the North American art world:

Dalí’s debut in America could hardly have been more fortuitous, but by 1939 he began to represent a challenge to the notion of high art as he actively combined art and commerce at a moment when the burgeoning American art world began to insist that a division be made between them. [...] So while Dalí may not have been unique in uniting modern art with commodity culture, his brand of mesmerizing

⁵ Including North American Surrealist artists including painter Alexandre Hogue, who reproduced Dalí’s double image, and artists who utilized Surrealism to draw attention to the “atrocities of war,” including O. Louis Guglielmi, James Guy, Walter Quirt, David Smith, and Federico Castellon (Dervaux 14).

confusion ran counter to more instructive or legible museum displays of commodities: his aesthetic was readily profitable, not pedagogical. (28-29)

It is essential to underscore that many art critics considered his overall oeuvre not as high art but rather as consumerist products and that lacked didactic or pedagogical qualities.⁶

This seems to contradict Clement Greenberg's later assessment of both Surrealism and Dalí, which leads to my own assessment of Dalí's *Don Quixote* illustrations as demonstrating a didactic and pedagogical compositional narrative. Indeed, Alexandrian observes that, although Dalí came to represent Surrealism in the United States, he could never have done so without a solid artistic foundation: "Certainly, before he became the popularizer of surrealism, Dali breathed a new dynamism into the movement. From the other point of view, had Dali not had the framework, the propitious climate which the group offered him, his personality would not have developed with so much brilliance" (Alexandrian 95). This underscores exactly why the success of Dalí's classical trajectory depended on the other side of its coin: the dynamic brilliance afforded by his public persona. That is, the binary of the Dionysian intoxication as Otherness to the Apollonian dream.

Further, Annette Blaugrund notes how Greenberg came to "blame Surrealism for having 'reinvigorated academicism;'" yet Dalí, by the time he was moving back to Spain at the end of the 1940s, was nominated for membership in the National Academy (7). The

⁶ Indeed, Keith L. Eggner observes that "For most American authors, Surrealism did not mean revolution, either psychic or social. [...] When Americans at this time spoke of Surrealism's attachment to Marx, they were usually talking about Groucho or Harpo (33). Concomitantly, Sarane Alexandrian concludes that "Unlike romanticism, with which it has often been compared, surrealism was able to establish, between the language of the plastic arts and the language of poetry, a relationship which was not limited to the illustration of the one by the other. It set poetry at the centre of everything, and used art to make poetry into something which could be seen and touched. The surrealist painters and sculptors, moreover, were themselves poets" (7).

reason, concludes Blaugrund, is due to Dalí's highly polished precision regarding form and finish:

The very exacting technique of some Surrealist painters is, in fact, academic in its precision and attention to form and finish. It is their focus on fantastic subjects that deviated from the norm and shocked the conservative establishment in the thirties and forties. Today, however, the Academy does not reject artists on a stylistic basis; rather it represents traditional media carried out in innovative ways. (7)

Greenberg comments in 1945 in his essay "Surrealist Painting" how Surrealism in the United States abandons automatism:

The other direction of Surrealist painting can best be charted by fixing the almost invariable point at which the automatic procedure stops. Here too inspiration is sought by doodling, or in accidents of the medium, but it is found most often in images offering themselves spontaneously and irrationally to the artist's mind before he picks his brush up. Sometimes he claims to do nothing more than transcribe a dream. [...] Automatism is made a secondary factor; for this type of Surrealist painting wishes to preserve the identifiable image at all costs, complete automatism goes too far in the direction of the abstract. ("Surrealist" 228)

Greenberg's reference to transcribing a dream almost certainly refers to Dalí and his paranoiac-critical method that focuses on the rendering of oneiric imagery. Yet in his essay, Greenberg's official assessment of Surrealism moves from sociopolitical analysis to sociocultural ones, never negating the surrealist artist his or her place in art history and the study of methodologies. Additionally, Dalí's paranoiac-critical method, as inspired and framed by classicism, maintains its inspiration in dreams but not at the expense of careful contemplation, at least as observed in the imagery produced for the 1946 *Don Quixote*.⁷

⁷ Alexandrian explains the role of mental health and mental disease in Dalí's paranoiac-critical method: "Dalí invented the 'paranoiac-critical method', and showed that an artist could obtain spectacular results by the controlled and lucid simulation of mental disease. Paranoia is an interpretative disorder with a rational basis, which, if skilfully mastered by the painter, will allow him to reveal the double significance of things. Thanks to this 'spontaneous method of irrational

Greenberg explains perhaps the most important aspect of Surrealism that Dalí develops in the 1940s. The art critic describes what I perceive to be didactic, pedagogical, and academic nuances to Dalí's illustrations in *Don Quixote*. Greenberg clarifies:

The subject matter is different, but the result is the same that the nineteenth-century academic artist sought. It makes no difference that the creatures, anatomies, substances, landscapes, or juxtapositions limned by the Surrealist violate the laws of probability: they do not violate the modalities of three-dimensional vision—to which painting can now conform only by methods that have become academic. For all the problems involved in transferring faithfully the visual experience of three dimensions to a plane surface have been solved by this time, and where all the problems have been solved only academicism is possible. The Surrealist represents his more or less fantastic images in sharp and literal detail, as if they had been posed for him. *Seldom does he violate any of the canons of academic technique*, and he vies with and sometimes imitates color photography, even to the very quality of his paint. Dalí's discontinuous planes and contradictory perspectives approximate photomontage. ("Surrealist" 228-29, my emphasis)

Such methodologies force the beholder to search for the pictorial narrative and even consult the original text for clarification, revealing a pedagogical quality to the pictorial composition. Dalí utilizes academic and artistic methodologies despite the rhetoric directed towards the masses that focus on his public persona and public antics as defying said canons of academic technique.

Concomitantly, Zalman notes that although kitsch "is art for mass consumption" it is also for "mass complacency," which helps explain the enthusiastic reception of Surrealism, despite its "revolutionary ideals" (48). Greenberg clearly demonstrates his

knowledge based on the interpretative critical association of phenomena which lead to delirium', the painter will act and think as if under the influence of a psychic disorder, while remaining fully aware of what is going on. The act of painting has no further function save that of using a perfected *trompe-l'œil* technique to make the images of this organised delirium unforgettable. It is from this that Dalí derives his definition of painting: 'photography (by hand and in colour) of concrete irrationality and of the imaginary world in general'" (100-03).

early desire for a polemic reception of Surrealism in his article “Avant-Garde and Kitsch,” categorizing Surrealism, as Zalman notes, as “an aberration in an otherwise progressive narrative a representative of a decadent and impure academicism” (Zalman 48-49). The issue for Greenberg is that Surrealism, from his perspective, is a “reactionary tendency which is attempting to restore ‘outside’ subject matter. The chief concern of a painter like Dalí is to represent the processes and concepts of his conscious, not the process of his medium” (Zalman 48-49). This perspective stands in sharp contrast to Greenberg’s later essays on Surrealism and, especially, to art historian and the first Director of the Museum of Modern Art Alfred Barr, who supports and characterizes Surrealism as “much more than an art movement: it is a philosophy” (Zalman 49). Zalman clarifies that Barr is a formalist whose additional interest in “vernacular” or popular culture sets him apart from critics like Greenberg (49). Art historians therefore react differently to Surrealism and Dalí than those approaching them from a popular culture perspective.

As Keith L. Eggner explains, the North American public is basically instructed how to perceive Surrealism:

Most Americans who knew something about Surrealism, however, got their information from printed accounts. American newspapers and magazines began discussing Surrealism with increasing regularity as early as 1925, just one year after the publication of André Breton's first Manifesto of Surrealism. By the mid-1930s articles on Surrealist art and artists could be found in a broad range of illustrated high-circulation periodicals, including *Time*, *Life*, and *Newsweek*. American authors writing in these publications associated Surrealism almost exclusively with the illusionist branch of the movement, the branch represented by Dalí. (32)

The North American common man, for the most part, relies on journalists not very well-versed in art or art history to tell them what to think of it.⁸

By the time Dalí lives in exile in the United States in the 1940s, Surrealism has already laid the foundation for the reception of his art as consumerism and his public persona to promote and sell it. Both Dalí and the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* fall into this phenomenon by way of Random House's development during and after World War II. The unfortunate result is that some of Dalí's high art, with its pedagogical and didactic qualities, is overlooked. I maintain that his illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote* are high art and contain pedagogical, didactic, and sensual imagery and qualities that are simply glossed over as iconic kitsch, as established in art historical echelons by the highly influential Greenberg. Thus, contemporary and later scholars simply group Dalí's *Don Quixote* illustrations into the mix of consumerist low art.

Baroque and Renaissance Methodologies

The first three color plates of the 1946 Random House edition of *Don Quixote* illustrated by Salvador Dalí comprise a grouping based on compositional and methodological similarities that are very different from the other seven color illustrations from the 1946 Random House edition illustrated by the painter. They are significant because they document Renaissance and Baroque classical methodologies as observable within the pictorial compositions. Specifically, in these three images, Dalí creates strong diagonals and four distinct quadrants that illustrate iconic passages from Cervantes's text

⁸ See Henry McBride "The Battle of the Surrealists," "The Classic Dalí," and "Dalí and Miró."

while utilizing Surrealism to tell his own pictorial narratives. In comparison, the other color illustrations of this edition reflect more singular pictorial storylines, some of which are much more surrealistic, that are not necessarily divided so strongly into quadrants or diagonals. The selection of paintings analyzed here and in Chapter 5 is also significant because, within each respective composition, Dalí successfully reinterprets Cervantes's narrative by inserting glimpses of protagonist Don Quixote's reality within his mad fantasy. The present chapter analyzes the first color illustration, *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora* utilizing art history terminology and methodologies, revealing evidence of Dalí's classical hand.

Salvador Dalí utilizes methodologies in this painting that force the spectator to thematically contemplate both fantasy and reality. Yet the manner by which the painter manipulates light also forces the spectator into prolonged contemplation, questioning the pictorial narrative much as late-Renaissance, early-Baroque Italian artists like Caravaggio forced the spectator to revisit the Bible to analyze his renderings of religious iconography with bare legs or dirty feet, for example (Langdon 335). A more specific connection could be drawn between the way Caravaggio manipulated light and distorted flesh to focalize the spectator's gaze in his earlier works.⁹ In the compositions of the painting analyzed here, Dalinian Surrealism combines with Renaissance and Baroque thematic methodologies to achieve the same spectator reaction: forced, long-term analysis that compares Dalí's imagery with the original Cervantine narrative it illustrates.

⁹ Beholders are inspired to understand the image precisely because of the distortion and lighting techniques utilized. As David Freedberg maintains, the beholder struggles to understand, possess, and dominate the imagery, especially when inspired to long-term contemplation (318-22). This is especially evident in the distorted flesh of the shoulder of the young male figure in Caravaggio's *Boy with a Basket of Fruit* (1593).

Greenberg provides a historic precedent in relating Surrealism with Baroque methodologies:

The Surrealists, promoting a newer renaissance of the *Spirit of Wonder*, have cast back to those periods after the Middle Ages which were fondest of the marvellous and which most exuberantly exercised the imagination: the Baroque, the late eighteenth century, and the Romantic and Victorian nineteenth century. Surrealism has revived all the Gothic revivals and acquires more and more of a period flavor, going in for Faustian lore, old-fashioned and flamboyant interiors, alchemistic mythology, and whatever else are held to be the excesses in taste of the past. Surrealism is “advanced,” but its notion of the future is not too unlike the comic-strip fantasies about the twenty-first century. (“Surrealist” 226)

However, the art critic remains unconvinced as to Surrealism’s sustainability as a viable artistic movement by comparing it with comic-strip-like futuristic renderings.

The link between Dalí and Baroque classicist methodologies is also explained by art historian Erwin Panofsky who notes a discrepancy among non-art historians regarding the definition of the Baroque’s rejection of Renaissance classicism. The art historian signals *Principles of Art History* (1929) by Heinrich Wölfflin as the text responsible for what Panofsky considers an erroneous definition of Baroque as “a diametrical opposite of the so-called classic Renaissance” (Panofsky 8). For example, according to Panofsky, some scholars consider works by Tintoretto and El Greco as baroque instead of mannerist (8-9). Panofsky clarifies that in the seventeenth century, the term mannerism is utilized to criticize art from the sixteenth century and the term baroque is established in the eighteenth century to criticize the exaggeration and simplification of seventeenth-century art. Panofsky concludes:

In Italy, and in its earlier phases, Baroque means indeed a revolt against mannerism rather than against the ‘classic’ Renaissance. It means, in fact, a deliberate reinstatement of classic principles and, at the same time, a reversion to nature, both stylistically and emotionally. In painting we can distinguish between two main forces that brought about this twofold change: the revolutionary effort

of Caravaggio [...] and of the Carracci. [...] Caravaggio wanted to get rid of the worn-out formulae of the mannerists. (11)

Just as Caravaggio forces spectators to revisit the Bible to understand his later Baroque paintings—and just as Cervantes creates a new episteme that reinterprets the past and Greek classicism, “thus forging a new vision of the present and for the future” (De Armas, “Simple Magic” 13-14)—Salvador Dalí successfully challenges spectators by reduplicating Caravaggio’s Baroque *techné* that Dalí utilizes to challenge the spectator to read Cervantes’s text for clarification. For example, Dalí renders Don Quixote as a satirical figure and not as a heroic figure, as reflected in the works by artists who reinterpret the universal quixotic iconography developed in England and France. Dalí therefore firmly establishes a clear epistemological link between his rendition of Don Quixote as satire and Cervantes’s seventeenth-century concepts of *burla* and *engaño*.¹⁰

Classicism in *Don Quixote’s First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora* (1946)

When Don Quixote embarks on his first sally in Chapter 2 of the first part of *Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1605), the protagonist invokes the gods Apollo and Aurora (Dawn) in one of the most iconic narratives that has subsequently been reinterpreted

¹⁰ The burlesque nature that is attributed to a comedic rendering of Don Quixote represents *burla*. The duality of reality and fantasy represents *engaño*. Schmidt clarifies the relationship between *burla* and *engaño* as especially evident in the eighteenth century, where mock epics elevate the heroic nature of Don Quixote only to later make fun of him as a crazy knight errant. Schmidt clarifies: “The mock-heroic mode informs the burlesque tradition of illustration whenever the decision is made to use an elevated literary or visual language to represent Don Quixote, and then to undercut the same by depicting his deflation, either through laughter or violence inflicted upon the protagonist by the other characters” (Schmidt 41). This theme is examined in detail in Chapter 5.

pictorially in many illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* throughout the centuries.¹¹

Character narrator Don Quixote's ekphrastic description of the deities is quite vivid at this, his rather inglorious first departure:

And as our new adventurer traveled along, he talked to himself, saying: "Who can doubt that in times to come, when the true history of my famous deeds comes to light, *the wise man who compiles them*, when he begins to recount my first sally so early in the day, will write in this manner: 'No sooner had *rubicund Apollo* spread over the face of the wide and spacious earth the *golden strands of his beauteous hair*, no sooner had diminutive and *bright-hued birds* with dulcet tongues greeted in sweet, mellifluous harmony the advent of *rosy dawn*, who, forsaking the soft couch of her zealous consort, revealed herself to mortals through the doors and balconies of the Manchegan horizon, than the famous knight Don Quixote of La Mancha, abandoning the downy bed of idleness, mounted his famous steed, Rocinante, and commenced to ride through the ancient and illustrious countryside of Montiel.'" And it was true that this was where he was riding. (*Don Quixote* I, 2; 25, my emphasis)¹²

With the phrase "the wise man who compiles them," Don Quixote contemplates future scholars who will reflect upon his first sally, underscoring the atemporality of Cervantes's pictorial narration. Specifically, character narrator Don Quixote anticipates and expects future scholarly analyses of his first adventure by providing the narrative for them: "when he begins to recount my first sally so early in the day, will write in this

¹¹ For example, a famous image of the first sally was created by French artist Charles-Antoine Coypel in 1723 and subsequently copied by various artists and engravers throughout the eighteenth century. Conversely, Dutch artist José del Castillo produced a rather low quality engraving 1780 that depicts Rocinante as a strong horse. French engraver Louis-Joseph Masquelier L'aîné produced in 1799 a beautiful engraving of the first sally that depicts Aurora. One of the most significant reinterpretations of the first sally was produced in 1863 by French artist Gustave Doré titled *En cheminant ainsi, notre tout neuf aventurier se parlait à lui-même*. Doré creates scenes of glorious fantasy and battle in the sky above the image of Don Quixote, who rides towards the picture plane. With his lance erect, Doré's protagonist is the epitome of a strong Romantic hero.

¹² All passages quoted from *Don Quixote* are from the 2003 translation by Edith Grossman. The parenthetical citations reflect Book, Chapter number; page number.

manner” (*Don Quixote* I, 2; 25). One could extend this statement to include artists who will one day create pictorial reinterpretations of the text.¹³

Don Quixote then describes the deities he invokes to underscore the importance of his first sally and overshadow the humorous reality underlying it. He establishes that Apollo has a ruddy complexion and has long blond hair that spreads over the Manchegan plains. Brightly colored birds with “dulcet tongues” allude to poets who observe the great spectacle that is to become the emblematic transformation from Alonso Quijano into Don Quixote. Yet Don Quixote does not directly mention poets; rather, they are represented only as metaphors within the protagonist’s epic narrative.¹⁴ Aurora, described in Grossman’s translation as “rosy dawn,” leaves her lover Apollo’s bed and reveals herself to mere mortals occupying the balconies of La Mancha. “No sooner” had all this happened than “the famous knight Don Quixote of La Mancha” begins his glorious first

¹³ Helen Percas de Ponsetti considers the picturesque and emblematic nature of Cervantes’s narrative propitious to pictorial reinterpretations, not only inspiring translations and analyses but also pictorial reduplications. Percas de Ponsetti concludes that with *Don Quixote*: “We are crossing the threshold of modern painting” (8).

¹⁴ The epic narrative insertion parodies the pastoral, resulting in theatrical allure. Frederick A. de Armas explains in *Quixotic Frescoes* (2006) the Baroque role of epic myth, or mock epic, in *Don Quixote* as linked to both Homer and Virgil. Epic satirical narrative is inserted into pastoral scenes, raising the genre from low to high with the invocation of ancient deities (154). He underscores Georg Lukács’s analyses linking modern narration with epic and concludes that Cervantes utilized the epic devices of theophany and *teichoskopia* to achieve this effect (155). Theophany refers to the invocation of a deity, utilized since *Epic of Gilgamesh* and Homer’s *Illiad*. Teichoskopia is an ancient greek literary device that may be described as character narrative within a fabula. De Armas clarifies, “I believe that Cervantes chose these two devices since they further his interest in both epic devices and in the pictorial nature of his fiction – both have to do with the sense of sight: seeing a divine apparition, or looking out from a high place” (155). Combining with the ancient literary device of ekphrasis, theophany visualizes theatrical decorum by inserting epic character narration. One may therefore signal inversion of the low pastoral genre with higher epic narrative through myth, not only in Don Quixote’s first sally, but also throughout the various insertions in both books.

sally by abandoning his own “downy bed of idleness” and riding his “famous steed, Rocinante” through the plains of Montiel and La Mancha.

Salvador Dalí chooses Don Quixote’s first sally as the theme of his first color illustration of the Random House and the Modern Illustrated Library edition of Cervantes’s *The First Part of The Life and Achievements of the Renowned Don Quixote de la Mancha* (1946). It is an offset watercolor titled *Don Quixote’s First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora* (*The First Part* 14-15). (Fig. 3). This illustration best represents how Dalí thematically focuses on mythology and classical Greek and Roman figures in stark contrast with Dalí scholar Haim Finkelstein who maintains that Dalí does not achieve a classical hand until the late 1950s.¹⁵

Specifically, Finkelstein insists that Dalí would not truly find a classic style until the 1950s and 60s:

It should be added that very little of what Dali labeled as “classic” in the texts written around 1941 was actually in evidence in his work of the late 1930s or the early 1940s. In some paintings, the classical motifs appear as background elements, often as obvious pastiches of Renaissance schemes and motifs, and these are combined with all kinds of manneristic distortions. In order to develop a consistent “classical” conception in his work, Dali needed a new overall vision, and he found it in what he called “nuclear mysticism” and the conceptualization of quantum mechanics. (*Collected* 323-24)

¹⁵ A temporal stylistic categorization that continues to this day. However, in 1984 Dalí expert and friend of the painter Robert Descharnes recognizes that Dalí’s classical trajectory “explodes” between 1945 and 1949, having initially being inspired earlier by the atomic bomb to pursue what Dalí later called “nuclear painting” and “atomic painting” (289).



Fig. 3. Dalí, Salvador. *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*. 1946. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

However, José María Blázquez shows us that as early as 1925, Dalí utilizes classic mythological imagery in his painting *Venus y Venus y Cupido* (238). More importantly, however, is the need to separate Dalí's paintings from his book illustrations, when contemplating classical content.

In *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*, Dalí divides the composition into four distinct quadrants, setting compositional and methodological precedents for the next two color illustrations. Here, fantasy is represented in all but one quadrant, the lower right, in which Dalí renders the real Don Quixote as a colorless and

small figure, foreshadowing how he will compose the relationship between fantasy and reality in the next two color illustrations. Aurora or Dawn is situated in the lower left, Apollo occupies the upper right quadrant, and colorful birds and a cupid figure occupy the upper left.

The painter begins his pictorial narrative with the predominant figure-actor in the top-right quadrant, a rather feminized Apollo. Although, as James Hall notes, over the centuries, the rendering of Apollo as a feminized male god has become tradition (26), Dalí forces the beholder's gaze to linger in order to contemplate its gender, although it is quite clear that the figure is male. Hall clarifies: "In classical sculpture, Apollo represented the ideal form of male physical beauty, with delicate, sometimes rather effeminate features. His hair is long, usually held with a fillet, or with a knot behind the neck. He is usually naked" (26). This tradition can also be viewed within the Baroque tradition of feminizing Roman and Greek deities, such as the series of Bacchus pictures by Caravaggio (Bersani and Dutoit 74-75). However, unless the spectator has read the original passage that Dalí's illustration portrays, in which Apollo—or Phoebus in some translations—is the predominant actor, one can simply categorize it as a feminized male with no classical and mythological referents.¹⁶ Further, with no contextualization to link the pictorial narrative to Don Quixote's character narration, the spectator would have no point of reference to develop a pictorial storyline that follows Cervantes's text.

Dalí forms a male chest and penile protrusion that signal that this figure is indeed male. However, maintaining the long tradition as described by Hall, Dalí successfully

¹⁶ In art historical analysis, it is common to refer to pictorial figures as "it" rather than he or she.

feminizes Apollo by modeling flowing hair in front of the left side of its abdomen, creating the illusion of a female hourglass shape.¹⁷ Dalí tantalizes and inspires a common struggle in the beholder that, as David Freedberg explains, consists of the desire to understand, possess, and dominate the imagery of human bodies (318).¹⁸

Dalí places Aurora, or Dawn, in the lower left quadrant, creating a very strong primary diagonal between Aurora and Apollo. Dalí further divides the composition into a second strong diagonal, one that begins with Aurora's face and passes through her left thigh. Because Dalí truncates Aurora's left leg, as the lower leg is being doubled back, the way Dalí foreshortens it directs the beholder's gaze to the real and burlesque figure of Don Quixote at the bottom right, completing the diagonal.

The utilization of foreshortening that Dalí utilizes to render Aurora's left leg also documents the first instance that Dalí utilizes classical Renaissance techniques within the color illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote* edition. James Thrall Soby, New York's Museum of Modern Art's 1941 Dalí exhibit Director, provides a contemporaneous North American perspective of, and response to, Dalí's utilization of classicism in his

¹⁷ Even though Apollo has traditionally been rendered as a feminized male figure in painting and sculpture as mentioned above by Hall, one cannot deny the impact that Dalí creates with the beholder by forcing the spectator gaze to linger on this feminized figure to decipher its gender. This could be interpreted as an early representation of deconstructing gender and sexuality as currently represented by queer theory. By deconstructing this passage from Cervantes's text, Dalí successfully questions sexual and gender normalization—in what today is considered queering—within an early modern Spanish canonic text, an action that inspires polemic responses through the present day. Future analyses will examine issues surrounding the queering of *Don Quixote* and other canonical early modern texts.

¹⁸ Freedberg also underscores this very human response is a “symptom” of the relationship between an image and the viewer (xxii) and that cultural fetishism commonly results from long-term viewer contemplation (318-22). Such a long-term contemplation complements the Baroque methodology, also consisting of long-term contemplation, accompanied by a return to the original text for clarification.

methodologies as one of the few art historians who recognize classicism in Dalí's work produced in the 1940s. The art historian observes in his text *Salvador Dalí* (1941) a heavy influence on Dalí's work by Italian masters, citing Leonardo da Vinci's ideological influence and the Italian painter's "technical influence on Dali's draftsmanship" (26). Indeed, Soby notes a number of Italian painters that heavily influence Dalí after he visits Italy just before World War II:

[Dalí] has developed a new esteem for painters of Mannerism and the Baroque. Caravaggio has joined Vermeer and Velasquez in the inner circle of his idols, and both *Impression of Africa* and *Philosophy Illuminated by the Light of the Moon and the Setting Sun*, however close to the early Velasquez in spirit, relate back to Caravaggio himself in their dramaturgy and in the bold handling of their foreshortening and chiaroscuro. (26)

Dalí successfully utilizes foreshortening in his first color illustration and instills upon the beholder a sense of classical imagery and iconology.¹⁹

Additionally, the manner by which Dalí diminishes Don Quixote as a small, grey figure underscores Alonso Quijano's reality as a secondary figure in comparison to the grandeur that Don Quixote tries to invoke. Such a diminished form represents the first instance in which Dalí incorporates reality within the predominant fantasy that is reflected, in this composition, by deities in the sky. Dalí renders Don Quixote in almost a comedic tone; in essence, the protagonist rides off on his first sally almost as an afterthought within the pictorial narrative.²⁰

¹⁹ One recalls the statue *Laocoön*, a statue unearthed in 1506 that utilizes the foreshortened, double-backed left leg to convey anxiety, anguish, and potential future motion. See Barkan (144).

²⁰ Schmidt explains that the burlesque and comedic qualities of Cervantes's narrative in *Don Quixote* contributed to contemporary reader reception as a humorous text: "[T]he book was inseparably linked to the genre it parodied, the literature of knight errantry" (28).

Aurora's foreshortened leg also alludes to a truncation that, because Dalí places Don Quixote as the terminal point of the second key diagonal, the beholder can infer this as a metaphor regarding the truncation of the protagonist's masculinity or sexuality. Dalí pictorially castrates Don Quixote from the beginning of his adventures, underscoring his inability to interact with Dulcinea, the image of the idealized woman. Since she exists only in the protagonist's fantasy, Dulcinea's unattainability is another key factor in Don Quixote's humorous reception, both in the novel and in the satirical composition of this first color illustration. Dalí further portrays the unattainability of the perfect woman within this diagonal, perhaps the most important diagonal in the composition, by rendering Aurora as faceless. Aurora, who turns her head back towards Apollo and not down towards Don Quixote, is clearly situated in fantasy, just as Dulcinea, and her truncated or castrated leg signals the reality Don Quixote carries forth into his first sally as a crazy, elderly, and insignificant man who seeks his idealized notions of chivalry through fantasy. Dalí also satirizes protagonist Don Quixote's masculinity by forming Apollo—presiding directly above the area into which Don Quixote rides—as a traditionally effeminate deity, as mentioned above.²¹

Yet Dalí constructs the strongest primary diagonal between Apollo and Aurora through their implied gaze. Because it is the first diagonal evident to the beholder, Dalí underscores the dominating role that fantasy holds in the tone of the painting. It is therefore significant that the painter blocks this gaze by the red cloth held by the Cupid-

²¹ Future analyses will focus on issues regarding the queering of Don Quixote and Dulcinea, especially whether Dulcinea is an able body, questioning her role in heteronormativity.

like figure. This suggests that the pictorial narrative begins with Aurora and not with Apollo.

Although Aurora rises from her bed on our left, Dalí forms the body as if caught in a moment of indecision. The doubled arm and leg imply that she has suddenly awakened while the action of getting out of Apollo's bed alludes to the recognition that perhaps she is late in performing her role as Dawn. Although Apollo is the predominant figure, Dalí models Aurora as the larger of the two figures, underscoring her importance in signaling the start of a new day. Stated another way, Aurora empowers and enables Apollo to perform his duties as the God of the Sun by first performing her duties as Dawn.²²

One reading of the Aurora figure underscores its agency in facilitating sun god Apollo's daily godly duty: to pass through the heavenly spheres. Without Aurora's help, the new day would not arrive. On one hand, Dalí forms Aurora as seeking to engage with Apollo's gaze, since the figure's gaze doubles back on the Sun god. On the other, Dalí makes Aurora's body turn away from Apollo, caught in the metaphorical act of the rising Dawn. Concomitantly, Dalí forms Apollo already in the sky, as the light source of the composition, casting shadows away from its body as can be seen in front of the balustrades onto the foreground near the Don Quixote figure. Although Aurora looks back towards Apollo, its left arm doubles over and away from Apollo and its left leg reflects a second instance of doubling, this time as a visual representation of pent-up potentiality of motion, much as a wound-up spring. Dalí therefore underscores the potentiality of future narrative as Aurora rises from the bed. While one reading of how

²² This evokes a thematic connection with Dalí's own dependence on his wife Gala as his muse.

Dalí models Aurora would maintain that she is trying to escape Apollo, another underscores that she is simply late for her own godly duties as Dawn, not having arisen in time, before Apollo entered the sky. This can be interpreted as a fantastic pictorial representation of Don Quixote's own statement that he is "abandoning the downy bed of idleness" (Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I, 2; 25).

Dalí clearly creates a tone of fantasy through myth and grandeur by utilizing pastel colors to signal said fantasy as juxtaposed with the grey-scale reality of protagonist Don Quixote and the small laborer just below the balustrades of the Manchegan balcony over which Apollo poses (Fig. 4).²³ Light emanates from Apollo's body as can be viewed in shadow cast upon the Manchegan plains out onto the foreground, almost to the position where Dalí places Don Quixote. It is important to note that the laborer walking to the left, just below the balcony and Apollo's right leg, casts no shadow, signaling that Dalí forms it to represent reality.²⁴

This figure may be interpreted as a social commentary by Dalí, whose early political beliefs purported to support the working class. It is also significant to note that Dalí casts Don Quixote's faint shadow as if the illumination were coming from farther to the left. The painter strategically utilizes light and shadow to juxtapose reality and fantasy, separating certain figures in the pictorial narratives from fantasy through

²³ Compare this strategy with the second color illustration *Don Quixote and the Windmills* (1946) in which reality is portrayed in bright colors and fantasy in tan and grey tones.

²⁴ The database at Texas A & M University, Cervantes Project, identifies this figure as a laborer from Ampurdán ("Textual Iconography"), a region within Catalonia considered the cradle of Surrealism, especially for Dalí. See Roig and Puig. An important study of class relations in both Dalí's oeuvre and in *Don Quixote*, especially as it relates to reality and fantasy, will be a significant future project.



Fig. 4. Dalí, Salvador. Detail of Don Quixote and Laborer Figure. *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

lighting, as can also be observed in the second and third color illustrations of Dalí's 1946 text examined in Chapter 5. Dalí places Don Quixote and the laborer within reality, clearly juxtaposed with the fantasy that the artist renders in the surrealist composition of the deities, as demonstrated by the inconsistency of light and shadow and the inversion of color/grey tone.²⁵ Yet here, reality and fantasy do not interact with each other, a theme we will visit in the next chapter.

Perhaps the most important feature in the entire composition is what Dalí chooses not to model. While Dalí reveals Aurora's breasts, he curiously chooses not to form detail in her face, as mentioned above. Hall notes that in addition to Aurora's duty to help her brother/lover perform his duties, she also possesses a jealous lover who is the elderly,

²⁵ Sancho Panza's absence is quite significant and merits further analyses.

bearded Tithonius (36). In this instance, Tithonius satirically alludes to the aging Don Quixote and the fact that he never seeks to consummate relations with any woman throughout the novel. Dalí composes a pictorial narrative that highlights Aurora not only as the goddess of Dawn but also as the pictorial and thematic representation of Dulcinea—the epitomized woman for whom Don Quixote searches but never finds—as Dalí blurs or omits Aurora’s explicit facial features. The message is clear: the idealized woman simply does not exist.²⁶

Additionally, at first glance, Dalí’s playful “lack of” explicit genitals in the Apollo figure suggests impotence; yet by observing the pooling of color underneath the genitals that creates shadow, one can view how Dalí underscores Apollo’s virility within the painter’s own pictorial narrative. Certainly, this interpretative dichotomy lends itself to, and reminds us of, the void of virility and internal patriarchal struggle that some psychoanalytical critics, such as Carroll B. Johnson, have perceived in *Don Quixote* (“Cervantes and the Unconscious” 81-88). When one takes into consideration Dalí’s preponderance for explicitly painted penises in his work, the ambiguous absence or blurring of genitalia in this androgynous image is more than thought-provoking.²⁷

However, although Dalí does not model explicit genitalia for Apollo, something does cast a shadow to the left and below, indicating a physical object. Yet its ambiguity links it thematically to impotence, inability or inexistence, as mentioned above.

²⁶ For a seminal study on the role of women in *Don Quixote*, see Lisa Vollendorf.

²⁷ See Dalí’s painting *Two Adolescents* (1954), for another example of a composition in which Dalí utilizes the lack of facial features to indicate fantasy, in this case, sexual fantasy. In this composition, Dalí also blurs the fantastic boy’s penis, much as is found in the Apollo figure, yet the real boy’s penis is rendered in greater detail.

Additionally, not defining Aurora's face and Apollo's penis very plausibly indicates how Dalí signals fantasy in the figure of the deities by directly linking the inexistence of both libido and the idealized woman. Dalí therefore presents the Aurora/Tithonius and Dulcinea/Don Quixote relationships as major correlative narratives within this composition.

Dalí himself provides contextualization regarding the theme of absence in his work. In *El mito trágico de 'El ángelus' de Millet* (1963), for example, the artist states that empty, null spaces are precisely where the spectator should look for meaning:

¿Cómo conciliar, insisto, esa fuerza, esa furia de las representaciones con el aspecto miserable, tranquilo, insípido, imbécil, insignificante, estereotipado y muy convencional de *El ángelus* de Millet? ¿Cómo un antagonismo tal no ha sido motivo de inquietud? Desde este momento ninguna explicación puede parecernos válida si seguimos creyendo que un cuadro así no quiere decir nada o 'casi nada'. Estamos convencidos de que a tales efectos deben corresponder causas de cierta importancia y de que, en realidad, bajo la grandiosa hipocresía de un contenido de lo más manifiestamente endulcorado y nulo, *algo ocurre*. (*El mito* 53)

In Millet's painting, Dalí interprets the absence of a baby on the ground as an allusion to infertility (*El mito* 53-56). The learned beholder can thematically link the lack of poets in Dalí's first color illustration as a metaphor for the lack of emotion associated with the lyric literary style, also mentioned above.

Another important theme that relates to this illustration is the possible Romantic influence of William Blake's *Albion* (1796). Since I argue for Renaissance and Baroque influences on Dalí's clearly modern surrealistic style, Romantic influences would normally be sidestepped. Such influences would be seen in renderings of Don Quixote as a heroic figure, as found in portrayals by French Romantic illustrator Gustave Doré, for example. However, because the potential inspiration by *Albion*'s iconic pose is apparent

in Apollo and not in protagonist Don Quixote, one could infer that Dalí satirizes Romantic artists' renderings of Don Quixote as said heroic figure rather than as a comic and burlesque figure. Dalí's Don Quixote is certainly not heroic.

Conclusions

After analyzing this image, Aurora is identified as the most important figure in the pictorial narrative reinterpretation of Cervantes's text. This insight follows suit with existing Cervantine criticism involving epic narrative and Aurora in *Don Quixote*. For example, John J. Allen explains Aurora's role in *Don Quixote*: of the six representations of dawn found in the text, the second, fourth, and sixth are lyric while the others are considered epic (60-63). Cervantes stresses Alonso Quijano's "deflation," as Allen describes, in this first epic narration of Aurora in Don Quixote's first sally at dawn (Allen 63), underscoring the burlesque nature of protagonist Don Quixote and the social affect of epic storytelling as a powerful means of conveying imagery. Theophany in the epic narrative insertion therefore inverts said deflation and parodies the pastoral, resulting in comedic theatrical allure and performativity, which one can infer as representative of that which Dalí calls *L'Art vivant* (*Histoire*, "L'Aventure Dalinienne" par. 8).²⁸ Dalí functions as an educated reader of *Don Quixote* by rendering the protagonist not necessary as a fool, but rather as deflated, miniscule, and burlesque figure, underscoring the painter's thematic link with Cervantes. That is, he does not simply continue the current Romantic renderings of Don Quixote as heroic, but rather as a comedic figure.

²⁸ As Dalí does not use page numbers in this text, I cite chapter or section name and paragraph number.

Because this painting represents the first of ten color illustrations of the 1946 Random House illustrated edition of *Don Quixote*, it sets the compositional tone for the next two illustrations: narrative dualities, thematic inversions, absences, light and shadow discrepancies, and fantasy that observes reality. As the reader/spectator of Dalí's *Don Quixote* 1946 moves on to the next two color illustrations, Dalí further develops these themes through various methodologies in their respective compositions, as they relate to the original text written by Cervantes.

I maintain that Dalí's methodologies analyzed here demonstrate but one manner by which the painter successfully revives Renaissance and Baroque classicism, in addition to his occasional focus on ancient Greek and roman iconography, as can be especially viewed in Dalí's first color plate illustrating Don Quixote's first sally. It is through the techniques mentioned above that Dalí creates high art with pedagogical and didactic properties, documenting that Dalí recreates Renaissance classicism for the target reader/spectator of the illustrations for the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* a full decade earlier than Dalí's biographers such as Finkelstein maintain.

Dalí does not desubliminate his previously sublimated sexuality in the composition of this first color illustration for *Don Quixote* in 1946. As we will see in the next chapter, this is also the case for the next two color illustrations. Further, Dalí does not include sexualized imagery in these illustrations, pursuing a methodology that implies respect of both epic storytelling and of the original narrative as written by Cervantes.

Regarding the relationship between reality and fantasy, the beholder perceives an oneiric tone in Dalí's use of Surrealism in this illustration as a counterpoint to satirically signal Don Quixote's reality. A better categorization, however, underscores the

development of a Dalinian Surrealist style that indicates a respect of epic, as developed through his paranoiac-critical method. This can be observed in the manner by which Dalí carefully contemplates and composes classicism in his pictorial versions of what McGraw considers a hard reading of *Don Quixote* (272) rather than relying on outdated, spontaneous methodologies that define the beginnings of Surrealism.

Specifically, Dalí's *Don Quixote* is not a representation of the universalized hero developed in England, France, and the Netherlands. There is nothing spontaneous about this illustration or anything that suggests the chaos of regression or automatism. Indeed, precisely because Dalí clarifies his understanding of classicism in Arcachon, France (Dalí, *The Secret Life* 381), the painter later abandons repression and embraces classicism, carefully composing the color illustrations for *Don Quixote* through the development of a trademark surrealistic style.

As such, Dalí's first color illustration is carefully contemplated, suggesting significant reflection of the passage it illustrates, echoing in its angles and symmetry the mathematical methodology of Pacioli and the tradition, as established in the Renaissance, of inspiring the viewer to reflect and contemplate the imagery presented. The beholder is intrigued by Dalí's rendering of protagonist Don Quixote's pictorial reality and how it relates to his rendering of pictorial fantasy. As we will see, Dalí raises this relationship to high art through diegesis in the next two color illustrations examined in the next chapter.

CHAPTER 5

DALÍ AS SURREALIST ILLUSTRATOR OF *DON QUIXOTE*:

DIEGESIS AND *L'ART VIVANT*

Tan grande como el número de comentaristas del *Quijote* es el número de sus ilustradores; tan variadas, y aun más, son sus interpretaciones. (Miguel Romera-Navarro 9)

Il est possible que les ouvrages de philosophie fassent—de temps à autres—avancer la pensée de l'homme—encore qu'il soit souvent permis d'en douter—, mais ce qui est certain, c'est que le Don Quichotte de Cervantès est, à lui seul, un prodigieux bond en avant vers la Renaissance littéraire, comme l'œuvre de Dali est un prodigieux retour à l'Art vivant. (Salvador Dalí, *Histoire*, “L'Aventure Dalinienne” par. 8)

Salvador Dalí enters the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* in the twentieth-century—as noted by Eduardo Urbina, Cervantes iconography and illustrated *Don Quixote* expert—at a time when text illustrators begin to wield free reign towards the development of their own artistic agendas (“Visual Knowledge” 20). While this seems to accurately describe Dalí, his ambitions, and his methodologies in general, the artist's focus on Renaissance classicism in the illustrations he creates for the 1946 *Don Quixote*, as discussed in the previous chapter, is the first methodology that sets the artist on a path that will eventually set him apart from other illustrators in the history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*. The second methodology, more importantly, makes Dalí unique through his utilization of pictorial diegesis—a narrative within the pictorial composition that the painter focalizes through a sculptural head figure—that metaphorically represents

Don Quixote's fantastic gaze and represents a figurative interaction between fantasy and reality in the same pictorial composition. Dalí begins to utilize this methodology in the second watercolor *Don Quixote and the Windmills* and expands on it in the third watercolor *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*, resulting in the successful interaction between fantasy and reality in a singular pictorial composition, achieving what I consider as the exemplification of the concept of *l'art vivant* that Dalí mentions in the epigraph above: the diegetic pictorial narrative in which an actor interacts with fantasy and reality, focalizing the beholder's gaze.

While the first three watercolors from Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* form a stylistic and methodological grouping of illustrations based on Renaissance and Baroque classical compositions, the second and third watercolors, *Don Quixote and the Windmills* and *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*, form yet another grouping because they are even more uniquely Dalinian due to three framing conceptual methodologies utilized by the Catalan painter. First, Dalí renders fantasy juxtaposed with reality as viewed through the gaze of an inanimate, sculptural figure representing the mad Don Quixote, focalizing a diegetic narrative within the pictorial composition in which madness observes both itself and reality. Second, Dalí does not portray the protagonist as a hero as established by previous illustrators within the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* but as a deflated figure. This is significant because it deprives us, the beholders, of the long-established artistic trend that portrays Don Quixote's gaze upon the scenario. Third, Dalí does not simply juxtapose reality as surrounded by fantasy in one single illustration as mastered by Gustave Doré; rather, Dalí composes Don Quixote's reality

and fantasy as interacting with each other in the same picture plane, drawing the beholder into a Dalinian diegetic reinterpretation of said interaction of fantasy and reality.

To underscore why this interaction is so unique to Dalí, we must consider Hispanic historian and philologist Miguel Romera-Navarro's opinion regarding the role that fantasy and reality hold within singular pictorial compositions:

Para reflejar la mezcla incomparable en el *Quijote* de la observación y la fantasía, del mundo en que vive el personaje y del mundo con que sueña, de lo real y lo imaginario, *no tienen las artes plásticas ningún medio en que ambos mundos puedan entrelazarse y fundirse íntima y armoniosamente en un solo cuerpo, en una sola imagen*. En esto, como en tantas cosas más, no podrá nunca igualar el pincel a la pluma, como la pluma tampoco igualará jamás en matices a la palabra hablada. La técnica de Doré posee dos recursos: uno, presentar al personaje rodeado de las imágenes de su sueño; el otro, mucho más frecuente, consiste en dos planos independientes, el inferior con la realidad, el superior con el ensueño; abajo, lo que sucede; arriba, lo que se imagina, con visión esfumada, por lo común, en el firmamento. Compárense esos dos procedimientos únicos con los mil modos y cambiantes de ilusión y realidad en el *Quijote*, y se comprenderá cuán poco puede satisfacer, junto a esta trama poética de prodigiosa inventiva y variedad, el arte de un ilustrador. (33-34, my emphasis)

Before analyzing Dalí's second and third illustrations from the 1946 *Don Quixote*, it is essential to underscore Romera-Navarro's position that it is impossible to render fantasy and reality as interacting with each other within one body or within one illustration's pictorial composition. In this chapter, we will examine how Dalí creates a unique niche for himself in the history of illustrators of *Don Quixote* by composing diegetic pictorial narratives in which fantasy metaphorically observes reality—and in one instance, reality observes fantasy directly—in the same illustration.

Additionally, as a means of defining such a Dalinian niche and contextualizing what we have revealed in Dalí's classical trajectory to this point, it is pertinent to reflect upon the genre of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* and examine how Dalí and the 1946 Random House edition fit in, take inspiration from, or even challenge the history of this

genre. Therefore, this chapter also reifies Dalí's role in the history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote*.

To illustrate how important diegesis is to Dalí's contribution to illustrations of *Don Quixote*, this chapter begins by examining how Dalí and the 1946 edition of *Don Quixote* compare to the overarching print history of illustrated editions of the text. It is essential to review the various themes surrounding the history of the genre, ever since the text was published in the early seventeenth century. Such a history reveals a series of artistic movements, reinterpretations, and mis-en-page issues that are relevant to Dalí's illustrations in the 1946 *Don Quixote*.

Dalinian Niche as Surrealist Illustrator of *Don Quixote*

The genre of illustrated texts was not unknown to Cervantes. Indeed, the genre already existed in the early Baroque period when Cervantes wrote *Don Quixote*. Nigel Glendinning explains that a market for illustrated books already existed in Cervantes's time, yet such illustrated texts were marketed towards a very select minority of elite target readers who sought texts with moral or ideological themes (45). Indeed, in the sixteenth century, publishers began to produce illustrated texts showcasing woodcut, embossing, etching, or other forms of adornment directed towards an elite reader (45-46).¹ In the early modern period, a debate emerges regarding the power of text versus the

¹ The quality of illustrated editions reflects the target reading audience and target economic market. One may observe the quality of illustrations as correlating to the social status of the market targeted. For example, collectible and ornate editions were produced for the elite while lower quality wood etchings were produced on low quality paper for the masses. Such an economic relationship also defines the relationship between bookseller and illustrator that defines any given text's success throughout the centuries. See the Introduction to this dissertation.

power of images and their individual or combined effect on the reader. Issues such as the placement of illustrations within a text, the framing of a chapter, or simply the development of frontispieces result in *mise-en-page* discussions that continue to the present day, such as the placement of illustrations within a narrative text and whether such placement hinders or helps the reading.

The relationship between word and image is renewed in the Renaissance when the concept of sister arts—literature and visual arts—is reignited since ancient times. Frederick A. de Armas explains in *Ekphrasis in the Age of Cervantes* (2005) that in literature, some Renaissance writers became interested in the invisible elements within paintings and, through the narrative technique of ekphrasis, began to seek such invisible elements (15). Yet the origin of the relationship between text and image dates back even further in history.

David Bland in *A History of Book Illustration* (1969) signals a common origin shared by sketches and writing: “Drawing and writing have in fact developed simultaneously from a common origin. Even today we can use the word ‘illustration’ indiscriminately of a graphic or of a verbal description” (15). Considering primitive Paleolithic drawings as a point of departure, Bland explains that “stylization came and with it the ideogram” (15). Further, Bland explains that all art is illustrative and that illustration predates literature, primarily because it was directed towards and utilized by those who could not read (15). It is important to underscore the difference between book illustration and text illumination, that is, the decoration of a manuscript. Illustration—separate from the text—is invented before writing as can be observed in the first ideograms. Later, when writing develops, the decoration of such manuscripts begins to

establish its relationship within the genre, especially as directed towards “readers” of the elite classes (15). Even before the invention of the printing press, a class relationship is established with those privileged enough to have access to a handwritten text and its decoration on papyrus or animal skins.

Book illumination in the Middle Ages, due to its usefulness to those who could not read, and to its success in portraying a visual account of the text, at times was considered more important than the text it illustrated (Bland 15-16). Later, as John Harthan notes, the role of illustration changes in the historic transition between manuscript and printed text: “Hand-painted miniatures in medieval illuminated manuscripts were supplanted in the fifteenth century by the wood block illustrations which appeared in the first printed books” (7). At that time, even more polemic debates begin to surface regarding the power that images wield in dominating the text they illustrate. Further complicating the issue, if the illustrator did not read the text he or she was illustrating, then a thematic disconnect was perceived by readers that often snowballed when badly conceived illustrations were subsequently borrowed by other artists.

For example, images were sometimes copied or reinterpreted and then signed by the new artist. At times, a stylistic feature was reduplicated, establishing a series of images that wielded the effect of canonizing the text within any given society or culture (Schmidt 30). Additionally, readers began to perceive how the placement of illustrations can affect reader reception by interrupting concentration. Bland explains that good illustrators are artists who read the text, choose passages that they want to illustrate, create an original pictorial work not copied from previous editions, and finally place the

illustrations in the text in a manner that does not distract the reader (16-30). In the end, all of this refers to *mise-en-page* placement.

Seventeenth Century

It is important to note that, in addition to the comedic nature of Cervantes's narrative, the text's own iconic quality is propitious to illustration. Helen Percas de Ponseti underscores this point by utilizing art historical terminology to analyze *Don Quixote* precisely due to its pictorial narrative: "Cervantes's novelistic practices contain visual features that anticipate artistic perspectives generally implicit in these terms (8). Henry S. Ashbee declares in 1895: "I know no book so preeminently suitable for illustration as *El Ingenioso Hidalgo Don Quixote de la Mancha*. In its marvelous pages will be found everything that the artist can possibly desire" (v). José Manuel Lucía Megías in *Leer el Quijote en imágenes* (2006) signals the first instance in the text that refers to its own illustration: "Cervantes es generoso con la descripción del caballero manchego, y ambiguo con la de su escudero. [...] Pero Cervantes va más allá y nos ofrece en el capítulo noveno la descripción de la primera imagen que ilustraría el manuscrito del Quijote" (16). Likewise, Schmidt reveals in *Critical Images* (1999) the concept of *mise-en-abyme* in Cervantine narrative, or metanarrative, that further contributes to the popularity of pictorially reduplicating passages from *Don Quixote* (39).

While early editions of *Don Quixote* in Spain were adorned with simple images on the book covers or title pages, the first truly illustrated editions of the text were published in the Netherlands, England, and France. Within Spain, the first illustrated edition does not appear until 1771. The lack of illustrated editions during this time is

essential by understanding how *Don Quixote* was perceived within Spain in the seventeenth century. The humorous nature of Cervantes's narrative had the effect of labeling the text as not propitious to illustration (McGraw 18). Indeed, McGraw and Schmidt explain that such a reader reception based on "cathartic and subversive laughter" (Schmidt 28) and "carnavalesque medieval laughter," did not allow for the illustration of a text deemed unworthy of illustration (McGraw 18). The first completely illustrated edition therefore is published not in Spain but in the Netherlands in 1657, with imagery by Jacob Savery (McGraw 115).² The Spaniards would wait 156 years from the publication of Part II, and 114 years from the first illustrated edition in the Netherlands, to publish an edition illustrated by Spanish artists.

In the seventeenth century, the Dordrecht edition is published in 1657 in the Netherlands and is considered the first fully illustrated edition of *Don Quixote*. Schmidt explains that 26 illustrations are attributed to artist Jacob Savery, yet in 1662 the same images appear alongside 16 new illustrations in an edition published in Brussels, in Spanish, by Juan Mommarte (32). Regarding the composition of the illustrations, McGraw observes: "Jacob Savery's *Don Quixote* is an overwhelmingly martial, but slapstick character. *Don Quixote* appears in twenty-one of the twenty-four chapter illustrations in the Dordrecht edition, and he has his sword drawn or lance in hand in all

² McGraw considers this edition as "The first thoroughly illustrated *Quijote*" (115). Juan Givanel Mas y Gaziell defines the genre of illustrated editions as: "ediciones con ilustración completa, ya que cuantas vimos hasta ahora contenían únicamente frontispicios, portadas, o a lo sumo una ilustración fragmentaria y cortísima" (106). Bland exclaims that "Spain missed a great opportunity with *Don Quixote*. The first properly illustrated edition came in 1657 from Holland, which had also produced for France the first illustrated *Contes* of La Fontaine. It was not in fact until the end of the eighteenth century that a worthy version appeared in the country of its genesis" (193).

but four of those” (116). The reason this edition is considered the first illustrated edition and not simply an adorned edition is the placement of images in almost all of the chapters. Indeed, this edition serves as the benchmark for the theme of mise-en-page illustration placement.

In Spain, the first edition with illustrations—not an illustrated edition, per se—is published in Madrid in 1674 by Andrés García de la Iglesia with engravings by Diego Obregón that, as Schmidt maintains, simply copy, in an inferior manner and quality, the same images by Savery (32). Further, McGraw recognizes the mocking tone of Obregon’s engravings that lack “artistic merit and are of unremarkable engraving quality” (123).³ Since the imagery is not original to Obregón, it is not considered the first truly illustrated edition published in Spain. Additionally, this edition marks the second instance in which previous images were copied from the Dordrecht edition, establishing the tradition of copying previous artists, only to recycle their imagery in later editions. However, it is important to underscore that the humor reflected in these illustrations was still understood at that time by the contemporary Spanish society that read this edition precisely because, as Schmidt notes, the Baroque theme of *burla* or mockery continues

³ The term “burlesque” is utilized by Schmidt, McGraw and Ronald Paulson, among others, in their works to describe a comedic rendering, or reception, of Don Quixote. It is important to clarify that “burlesque” is not used to refer to satire; rather, it refers to the mockery of imagery and concepts that convey humor and inspire laughter in the reader.

on into the Rococo (39).⁴ As such, the 1674 edition is significant because Obregón successfully reduplicated Savery's pictorial humor and it was well received in Spain.⁵

Schmidt explains the significance of the burlesque tone found in the compositions of Obregón's images by underscoring that for the reader of *Don Quixote* in the seventeenth century, "the book was inseparably linked to the genre it parodied, the literature of knight errantry" (28). As a text that criticizes the genre of chivalry books, *Don Quixote* also occupies its own space within this genre, as explained by Mommarte in the preface to the 1662 edition (28). Mommarte initially did not consider *Don Quixote* as a satirical text nor a parody of chivalric books but rather only a mockery of the same. Although there initially existed a didactic tone within the reader reception of *Don Quixote* in the century in which it was written, according to Schmidt, said tone was transformed into mockery by focusing on laughter (32).⁶ The target reading audience contemporary to the text reads it for entertainment precisely in order mock it.

⁴ It is important to underscore that mockery, *burla*, and burlesque laughter are directed at Don Quixote and his actions; the reader mocks the protagonist by observing and judging his actions as humorous. It is not until the eighteenth century that artists begin to focus on Don Quixote's own gaze as noble, changing forever how the world perceives the protagonist as nobly quixotic. This process universalizes quixotic iconography.

⁵ The first fully illustrated edition published in Spain in 1771 utilizes the heroic, universalized European imagery created in England, France, and the Netherlands to canonize the text within Spain.

⁶ Schmidt concludes: "Ironically, the sea change in interpretation attributed to the German Romantics that occurred at the end of the eighteenth century resulted from a confluence of the earlier 'serious' and 'comical' interpretations. These interpreters did not deny either the status of the text as 'classical' or its satirical humour, but rather, through irony, recast the satire into opposition with idealization. In this bold interpretive move, the Romantics joined the tradition of a laughing, burlesque or satirical reading with the process of idealization begun early in the eighteenth century, canonizing *Don Quixote* according to neoclassical criteria and presenting Cervantes and his protagonist as sentimental heroes. In addition, like Goya, they found the very questioning of the opposition between idea and reality, fantasy and reason, to be central to the authority of *Don Quixote* as a classic. Finally, in the nineteenth century the interpretation of *Don*

I interpret such mockery and *burla* as reactions that assess and judge Don Quixote's *engaño* or self-deception, and as mentioned earlier. This is a quality I do not observe in Dalí's illustrations of the 1946 edition. While his Don Quixote is clearly un-heroic, Dalí does not compose a burlesque pictorial narrative that laughs at or mocks Don Quixote's *engaño* but rather satirizes it by juxtaposing it as counterpoint to the oneiric yet noble fantasy that dominates his illustrations. More importantly, Dalí satirizes Don Quixote's metaphoric, fantastic gaze as observing reality in a pictorial narrative that suggests an interaction between reality and fantasy, a concept adamantly rejected above by Romera-Navarro.⁷ While such a gaze can be considered satirical, it also lacks a moral judgement; therefore, the pictorial narrative forces the reader to consult the original language for clarification, revealing a didactic tone in the composition. Schmidt notes that later, Mommarte will recognize the didactic aspects of the novel regarding morality—Don Quixote's own moral gaze—foreshadowing the future Real Academia Española's edition later in the eighteenth century: "Mommarte, like the eighteenth-century Spaniards who would seek to canonize the work, appealed to its 'universal—that is, European—reception'" (Schmidt 30).

Quixote was separated into that of the lettered elite, who continued the neoclassical treatment of the text in philological monographs, and that of the populace, who were introduced to the text through the expanding educational system and preferred, by and large, a highly sentimental reading" (28).

⁷ As we will see below, French painter Charles-Antoine Coypel will render Don Quixote's gaze for the first time.

Eighteenth Century

In the eighteenth century, illustrators are inspired by imagery produced by Jacob Savery, Gasper Bouttats, Diego Obregón, and various artists from the seventeenth century, especially English painter John Vanderbank (1694-1739) and French painter Charles-Antoine Coypel (1694-1752). Vanderbank illustrates the Lord Carteret edition in 1738, known as both the Tonson edition or Carteret edition, which holds the distinction as the first deluxe illustrated edition of *Don Quixote*. In France, Coypel sketches magnificent images for a series of tapestries for the Château de Compiègne and said images will be copied throughout the eighteenth century, supplanting Savery's imagery as the dominating iconography (Schmidt 38).

Lucía Megías, when comparing illustrations from the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, notes the augmentation of the quality of imagery that renders the theme of laughter, fantasy, and madness in the eighteenth century: “Y en el siglo XVIII se acentuará esta tendencia, ya que también en esta centuria encontraremos algunas de las mejores series iconográficas que se han realizado para el Quijote en toda su historia” (22-23).⁸ Coypel's images are significant due to the Rococo style and their portrayal of “spectacle and luxury” (Schmidt 38). Lucía Megías associates the high quality of Coypel's illustrations with protagonist Don Quixote's positive reception within France as a courtesan who is rendered as moving “con toda naturalidad por jardines y salas propias

⁸ Eduardo Urbina recognizes the value of other artists, some of which are not investigated here: “Beyond Coypel, the 18th century gave us some of the most memorable and beautiful representations of the *Quixote*, as seen in the illustrations by John Vanderbank, William Hogarth, Francis Hayman, and Thomas Stothard in England, and Daniel Chodowiecki in Germany” (“Visual Knowledge” 21).

de Versailles” (23). This represents another instance of universalizing quixotic iconography, this time within France, so that the text may be successfully consumed by the target reading audience. This technique also very heavily influences translations of the text into various cultures and languages through its “universal appeal” (Schmidt 30).

Nigel Glendinning underscores the most important change in illustrations in the eighteenth century: “[E]l creciente interés por los placeres y peligros, ventajas y desventajas, e la imaginación se manifiesta en láminas alegóricas, que tratan de simbolizar el enfoque satírico del autor, o ilustraciones que encarnan los sueños o visiones del protagonista” (50). Coypel is the first artist to render what Don Quixote sees (50). Don Quixote’s noble gaze becomes the focus not only of illustrators but also of translators, all of whom continue developing the universalization of quixotic iconography to that of a European perspective, as begun by Mommarte (Schmidt 30). This change represents one of the most important developments in the history of quixotic iconography. The universalized perception of Don Quixote as noble still dominates how the world perceives him today.

Such a profound change towards the protagonist’s own gaze, rather than our own gaze upon him, changes the iconography of Don Quixote and allows the universalization of a focus upon the nobility of his intentions in lieu of his madness. This representation is satirized by Dalí in his illustrations of the text first by producing a sculptural figure that metaphorically gazes upon both reality and fantasy in the composition. Additionally, Dalí successfully juxtaposes fantasy and reality in the same pictorial composition, thereby not focusing on Don Quixote as only a hero but as a figure who occupies the duality of

reality and fantasy at the same time. The beholders of his illustrations can therefore read Dalí's pictorial narratives just as they would read Cervantes's original narrative.

Eighteenth century artists begin to focalize fantasy and dreams through Don Quixote's gaze. Schmidt affirms the theatrical style of Coypel's work that both continues traditions established in the previous century but also adapts it for a reading public of a higher intelligence and social class (38). The images differ specifically in how they inspire laughter; the humorous reaction that Coypel's imagery inspires is founded not in the image of a burlesque figure, but rather from "the stifled giggle of the courtier or courtesan who catches the viewer's eye" (39). As Schmit clarifies, the manner by which Coypel places his illustrations creates a reader reception based on *mise en abyme*:

"Coypel arranged these scenes as a director would a *tableau*, with the various spectators of the court displayed about the central action of the protagonists in a semi-circle, fully open to the view of the public beyond the picture frame" (39). Said *tableau* represents the first instance in which a pictorial narrative that renders Don Quixote successfully exists apart from Cervantes's text, which achieves the added effect of elevating the reader reception of *Don Quixote* to a target reading audience that is educated: the emerging middle class.

Mock Heroic or Mock Epic

Because of such class elevation, one of the most important adaptations in the eighteenth century is revealed in the genre of the mock epic (Schmidt 41). As Coypel both elevates Don Quixote's heroic identity and makes fun of him as a knight errant in the process, the burlesque is also elevated to satire in the middle class, setting up a

humorous denouement when the figurative rug is pulled out from underneath the protagonist through laughter or violence. Schmidt clarifies:

The mock-heroic mode informs the burlesque tradition of illustration whenever the decision is made to use an elevated literary or visual language to represent Don Quixote, and then to undercut the same by depicting his deflation, either through laughter or violence inflicted upon the protagonist by the other characters. (41)

This is precisely what Dalí does in the second and third color illustrations of the 1946 Random House edition, as will be revealed below. By rendering both fantasy and reality as juxtaposed in his pictorial compositions—more specifically, by modeling an inanimate figure whose gaze focalizes a pictorial narrative in which fantasy metaphorically gazes upon itself and upon reality—, Dalí elevates Don Quixote's fantastic gaze to the level of mock-heroic and then undercuts him by also rendering his reality as a small and broken figure, pictorially “depicting his deflation” (Schmidt 41), not at the hands of other protagonists, but because Dalí impedes Don Quixote's gaze in the composition. The fantastic and metaphorical gaze upon both reality and fantasy is the only focalizer of the pictorial narrative and underscores Don Quixote's deflation, as mentioned above.

This version of deflation, from my perspective, represents a satirical rendering of Don Quixote's self-deception or *engaño*, as first seen in the seventeenth century, which also represents a satirical portrayal of Don Quixote missing from many illustrators' compositions. To be clear, Dalí's satirical undercutting provides humor at Don Quixote's expense by depriving the beholder of the perspective afforded by Don Quixote's mad gaze. Other illustrators focus on undercutting Don Quixote through the actions of other pictorial actors, leaving Don Quixote's gaze intact. Dalí's second and third color

illustrations of the 1946 edition are therefore satirical, adapting the tradition of the mock heroic or mock epic in satirical pictorial compositions.

Indeed, Ronald Paulson clarifies that, after the English Restoration, the genre of the mock heroic or mock epic develops as satire in the eighteenth century. The author explains what quixotic iconography represented for the English in that century:

The primary and most basic topos—the one that underpins the empiricist position—is, of course, embodied in Quixote's attack on windmills and sheep, but there are also the episodes in which he mistakes an inn for a castle [...] Alongside these are the eighteenth-century commonplaces about Cervantes, that he “smiled Spain's chivalry away,” was “father and unrivalled model of the true mock-heroic,” and was the master of “grave irony”; and about Quixote, that he exhibits “madness in one point, and extraordinarily good sense in every other.” (xviii)

Through the juxtaposition of a satirical reception of Don Quixote as a hero with the mockery of his madness, a paradox is revealed that is inspired by the two possible reader receptions postulated by McGraw, as mentioned earlier, inspired by a universalized iconography of the text.

Said paradox created by the universalization of quixotic iconography still resonates today. McGraw categorizes the division of Don Quixote into either a burlesque figure or a romanticized hero results from translators and illustrators who intend to portray the protagonist in a manner their own culture and target reading audience can comprehend (269). McGraw concludes that, by comparing the history of reader reception of *Don Quixote* in terms of a “funny book” proposed by Peter E. Russell (312) and the categorization of a reception pre- and post-Romantic presented by Robert Bayliss (391), two ways to read *Don Quixote* present themselves, “hard and soft” (McGraw 272). A hard reading focuses on a satire while a soft reading reveals the heroism of the protagonist as an idealized figure. However, McGraw contradicts what John J. Allen

maintains in his seminal text *Don Quijote: Hero or Fool?* (1969) that the reader should choose between these two characterizations, underscoring that Don Quixote represents both sides of the paradox (McGraw 270-72).

Schmidt explains that the universalization of quixotic iconography also elevates it to the sentimentalism of the emerging middle class, converting mockery into satire.⁹ Indeed, Schmidt clarifies that both satire and sentimentalism represented the esthetic of the emerging middle class: “Central to the change was the transformation of the book from its popular status to a public one. As a popular book it had enjoyed universal appeal [...] as a public work rather than a popular one it became a classic” (46). *Don Quixote* at that time and within the space created by the new middle class is converted into a didactic text based on morals and ethics, worthy of educating this social class as a classic text (46).

The history and development of satire in Spain develops very differently. Quixotic iconography is raised socially once again, but this time to the Spanish elite, without a focus on satire. In the late eighteenth century, José Caldosó recognizes in *Cartas marruecas* (1789) that other nations appreciate *Don Quixote* more so than within Spain: “En esta nación hay un libro muy aplaudido por todas las demás” (224). Don

⁹ It is important to note that the same thing happens with the Tonson edition. Schmidt underscores the preface to the English translation by Peter Motteux at the beginning of the eighteenth century, where Motteux mentions an “every man”: “This telling quote sets the stage for the crucial readings of the novel in Enlightenment England. As the producers of the Carteret [Tonson] edition strove so mightily to elevate Don Quixote from the realm of every man, the popular sphere of the lower classes, certain English contemporaries sought to elevate it *to* the realm of Every Man, the public sphere of the newly emerging middle class” (89). Therefore, one observes that the same phenomenon repeats itself in mid-twentieth century North America and the 1946 edition by Random House illustrated by Dalí, whose target reading audience was the emerging middle class after World War II.

Quixote is declared a classic text not in Spain but in England and France. In reaction to this, Spain recognizes the text as canon but not before reestablishing humor in the 1780 edition published by the Real Academia Española and Joaquín Ibarra. This edition, the second produced by Ibarra, is illustrated by Antonio Carnicero, José del Castillo, Bernardo Barranco, José Brunete, Gerónimo Gil, and Gregorio Ferro (Schmidt 160). Schmidt notes how the illustrations in this edition criticized the universalization of iconography by the English and, in turn, utilized and elevated the same quixotic iconography to the level of the Spanish elite that has the effect of canonizing the text:

The frontispieces and vignettes to the 1780 Real Academia edition continued to poke fun at the elevated forms through the introduction of popular and parodic imagery into the very edition that was intended to canonize Don Quixote as a foundational work of Spanish literature. In this way elements of burlesque humour contributed to a mock-“classic” reading of the novel, indicative of popular distance from the enlightened reading in Spain, supported by a court elite rather than a middle class. (129)

The Real Academia Española edition also represents the first edition to include sketches or vignettes (Schmidt 150). Although the editors of the Real Academia Española edition did not like the vignettes, later Romantic artists such as Tony Johannot and Gustave Doré would utilize them very successfully, as Salvador Dalí also does in the twentieth century. In addition to the vignettes, the way Dalí renders Don Quixote not only within fantasy but also as the object of diegetic focalization upon the parody of his reality, the Catalan painter establishes a direct connection with the 1780 Real Academia Española edition—as a mock-classic reading, as maintained by Schmidt—by continuing this tradition of portraying burlesque humor through his own mock-classic pictorial rendering of the text.

The universalization of quixotic iconography, paired with the original burlesque representation of Don Quixote, explains Dalí's rendering of both reality and fantasy in the same pictorial compositions in his illustrations for the 1946 edition by Random House. As we will see with Gustave Doré in the nineteenth century, Dalí is not the first illustrator to render both fantasy and reality in the same pictorial composition, but Dalí's diegetic pictorial character narration that focalizes the observation of reality by a fantastic sculptural figure conveys Don Quixote's *engaño* to the emerging middle class in post-World War II North America through satire.

Nineteenth Century

Patrick Lenaghan, upon considering the two major movements in the nineteenth century, French and German romanticism, exclaims that both introduced a new characterization of Don Quixote as a visionary within a world "carente de comprensión" (16). Now that the protagonist's own gaze is reflected in illustrations, mockery is set aside to focus on realism. Lenaghan observes that the romantic interpretation of the text profoundly affected how *Don Quixote* was illustrated. The text served as a precursor "de las grandes novelas del siglo XIX por sus detalles realists y el estudio psicológico de los personajes, lo que alentó a los artistas a centrarse igualmente en esos aspectos" (33). A new optic develops that focuses on psychological studies that will later be augmented by artists in the early twentieth century due to the influence of Freud. This is especially evident in the illustrations created by Dalí.

Nigel Glendinning observes that in the nineteenth century, technology develops that allows artists to create more detailed and nuanced illustrations, including techniques

such as xylography (woodcuts), lithography, chromolithography, and modern photo mechanics (51). Said increase in detail can especially be observed in illustrations produced by French artist Gustave Doré.¹⁰ While some scholars consider Doré's magnificent work as overshadowing and taking the place of the text it illustrates (Romera-Navarro 14-15), others such as Lenaghan consider the French painter's renderings of Don Quixote as less impotent than in previous centuries (17). Lenaghan does, however, underscore Doré's tendency to focus both on a duality of reality and fantasy: "Las composiciones de Doré, aparentemente fáciles, nos advierten por partida doble; primero indicando las dificultades que conlleva la visualización de un relato escrito y después mostrando la importancia del estilo del artista" (21). Just as Dalí will do 83 year later, Doré juxtaposes reality and fantasy in the same pictorial compositions.

Twentieth Century

Dalí therefore reduplicates Doré's four-quadrant methodology that juxtaposes reality and fantasy in the same pictorial compositions. It is essential to link Dalí's methodology with previous artists like Doré to underscore that Dalí does not illustrate

¹⁰ Another French painter and engraver, Tony Johannot, also stands apart from other illustrators for the proliferation of images produced in the 1836 edition *L'ingénieux hidalgo Don Quichotte de la Manche* translated by Luis Viardot. McGraw notes that the text includes 768 wood engravings that include 487 sketches placed in the text where the narration appears that they illustrate. McGraw cites the technological advances afforded by wood-cut engraving, or xylography, that made the production of so many images possible: "The technique of wood engraving created the possibility that the illustrator could be a much more prominent participant in the elaboration of the book and Johannot was an artist equal to that opportunity" (163). Yet the most important contribution by Johannot resides in the creation of multiple renderings of the same narrative. McGraw concludes that "Johannot had the luxury of illustrating multiple perspectives of a single episode. He wanted the reader to view the vignettes as a series," thereby sharing with Doré the distinction of the most influential romantic illustrators of *Don Quixote* (166).

Don Quixote in a bubble, far removed from other artistic influence. On the contrary, Dalí achieves what Lenaghan identifies in Doré's work: an achievement of equilibrium "entre la futilidad de la aventura y la admiración por el intento" (40). Both Doré and Dalí continue to develop a pictorial trajectory that interprets the narrative through what I consider a pictorial rendering as mock heroic: the juxtaposition of heroic fantasy and burlesque reality as a continuation of the work created by Coypel in the previous century.

It is important to underscore that with Doré's illustrations, readers of all classes begin to perceive quixotic iconography in the same manner. McGraw explains: "Another modern touch that Doré brings to the illustrations is the way his baroque style mixed the high and low expressions of art, effectively placing social statuses on the same level, shaping the way the Quixote was read and understood" (170). This represents nothing less than the modern reception of *Don Quixote* as universalized for all levels of society. Yet while Dalí inherits this historic modernized hodgepodge reception of the text, he does not limit himself to the reduplication of the methodologies that led to Doré's and previous artists' success—specifically in Doré's case, the mixture of high and low art—but rather focuses on high art alone in his first approximation to illustrating *Don Quixote*.

Through a modernized and universalized iconic reception of the text *Don Quixote* and protagonist Don Quixote, Dalí enters the genre of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* as an illustrating artist in the twentieth century. It is a time in which artists wield free reign towards illustrating texts and represents an epoch that Eduardo Urbina signals as the "beautiful book" era: "the tendency has been for artists to free themselves from the narrative impositions of the text, and even from their functional role as 'illustrators' and visual interpreters of the text" (25). Urbina refers to *The History of the Illustrated Book*

(1981) by John Harthan in which the author comments on the social and esthetic changes within the genre of illustrated books beginning in 1880, a movement William Morris names “The Book Beautiful” (Harthan 228). It is a time in which anecdotes and satire fall out of favor with the reading public and illustrated editions of texts are treated as precious objects destined for collections without any regard for didactic properties of the illustrations (Harthan 228). What this means for illustrators is that they are now free to portray whatever they want in their book illustrations.

Urbina clarifies that a sort of creative autonomy emerges in this century that allows the artists to focus on their own personal styles, utilizing *Don Quixote* as inspiration for their own personal and professional development (20). Urbina signals Dalí as one of the most important illustrators of *Don Quixote* in the twentieth century (26). Indeed, the 1946 edition by Dalí and Random House stands out precisely because of Dalí’s utilization of color and the painter’s interpretations of the text he illustrates.

Harthan explains the Dalinian perspective: “The Spanish/born Salvador Dali is as important a figure in Surrealist book illustration as Max Ernst. His sense of line, feeling for glossy colour and meticulous depiction of details give his work an almost Pre-Raphaelite intensity” (264). Stephen Miller compares Dalí’s illustrations with those by Doré, tracing a connection between the two artists through the relation between Cervantine text and their imagery: “[S]e ha reconocido y dado por muy buena la colaboración léxico-gráfica de Doré y Dalí con Cervantes” (96). Dalí therefore brings to the project of illustrating *Don Quixote* for Random House and The Illustrated Modern Library not only an over-the-top public persona, filled with behavioral and sociopolitical

polemics, but also a highly-developed skill set, firmly situated in the use of color and the development of his famous paranoiac-critical method.

However, Dalí successfully goes against the grain—against the tendency as established above by Harthan of producing collectible books with illustrations that display no didactic properties—by creating pedagogical and didactic compositions through satire for his 1946 edition. I maintain that Dalí illustrates the 1946 edition through a pictorial version of the mock heroic, by juxtaposing fantasy and reality in the same pictorial compositions, just as Dore and Coypel before him. Yet Dalí’s diegetic pictorial narrative in *Don Quixote and the Windmills* and *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep* make his renderings unique.

Diegesis in *Don Quixote and the Windmills* (1946)

Flourishing within Dalí’s surrealistic take on fantasy and madness, Dalí’s second color illustration of *Don Quixote* is an offset watercolor that illustrates perhaps the most iconic passage from the text, that of protagonist Don Quixote’s battle with the windmills. It showcases the painter’s careful contemplation, reflection, and intense reinterpretation of the original text it illustrates:

As they were talking, they saw thirty or forty of the windmills found in that countryside, and as soon as Don Quixote caught sight of them, he said to his squire: “Good fortune is guiding our affairs better than we could have desired, for there you see, friend Sancho Panza, thirty or more enormous giants with whom I intend to do battle and whose lives I intend to take, and with the spoils we shall begin to grow rich, for this is righteous warfare, and it is a great service to God to remove so evil a breed from the face of the earth.” “What giants?” said Sancho Panza. “Those you see over there,” replied his master, “with the long arms; sometimes they are almost two leagues long.” “Look, your grace,” Sancho responded, “those things that appear over there aren’t giants but windmills, and what looks like their arms are the sails that are turned by the wind and make the

grindstone move.” “It seems clear to me,” replied Don Quixote, “that thou art not well-versed in the matter of adventures: these are giants; and if thou art afraid, move aside and start to pray whilst I enter with them in fierce and unequal combat. (*Don Quixote* I, 52; 58)

Upon encountering a grouping of windmills, Don Quixote sees giants where Sancho Panza only sees windmills. As Frederick A. de Armas notes in “Simple Magic: Ekphrasis from Antiquity to the Age of Cervantes” (2005), this is the most famous and iconic narrative passage from the text: “Considering the length of Cervantes’s *Don Quixote*, it is surprising that the adventure of the windmills, taking up a few paragraphs in the text, has come to represent the substance of it” (17). De Armas notes how Don Quixote misinterprets what he sees:

While Sancho describes the functioning of a windmill, don Quixote transforms these tangible objects into fantastic visions. This misperception is based on personification and figurative thinking [...] It resides in don Quixote’s creative imagination. [...] And, this imagination has as one of its functions to foreground the imaginative qualities of the text itself. Thus, it becomes an example of metafiction. (“Simple Magic” 17-18)

The theme of metafiction and metanarration are reduplicated in the composition of Dalí’s second color illustration. (Fig. 5).

While one can visually perceive that the watercolor illustrates the above textual passage, there is evidence that Dalí drew heavily from another passage from the same chapter in which the goatherd doubts Don Quixote’s sanity: “That sounds to me,” responded the goatherd, “like the things one reads in books about knights errant, who did everything your grace says with regard to this man, though it seems to me that either your



Fig. 5. Dalí, Salvador. *Don Quixote and the Windmills*. 1946. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

grace is joking or this gentleman must have a few vacant chambers in his head” (*Don Quixote* I, 52; 439).¹¹

Dalí underscores the original satirical nature of the passage by reinterpreting the bifurcation between reality and fantasy, as can be observed in the painter’s use of color as contrasted with black and white. However, in stark contrast with the first color

¹¹ Other twentieth century colloquialisms include “He must have bats in his belfry,” “His elevator doesn’t go to the top floor,” “No one’s home,” and especially the song “The windmills of your mind” from Norman Jewison’s 1968 film *The Thomas Crown Affair* (Legrand).

illustration, *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*, in this composition, color is used to signal reality, while black and white and tannish brown reflect fantasy. Indeed, the overall predominant color is a tannish brown that Dalí contrasts with black and white imagery in the two horizons, the hair and mane, and the fantastic Don Quixote in the upper third.

Dalí strategically utilizes pastel colors in other areas of the composition that stand out from the prevailing tannish brown, such as in the windmills, the bands around the neck of the sculptural figure front lower left and in the real Don Quixote and Rocinante, lower center, as they begin to tumble in the culmination of their battle with the windmill. Part of the windmill's vane lies torn on the ground. As such, Dalí combines elements of the original narrative traditionally separated by other artists, such as two very realistic and romantic images by Doré that portray the battle with the windmill and its aftereffects: *Miséricorde! S'écria Sancho* and *L'aile emporté après elle le cheval et le chevalier* (1863).

Conversely, the painter does not carry forth what Catalanian Cervantes expert Juan Givanel Mas y Gaziell notes as predominant in the German Romantics' renditions in the late eighteenth century, a return to simplicity (292). Dalí composes, within the one illustration, and as can be found in the compositions of the other two illustrations examined here, the grandeur of fantasy while anchoring it in the protagonist's laughable reality. Yet as we will see, Dalí will manipulate this relationship by making them interact with each other. The result is that, as mentioned above, Don Quixote's *engaño* is satirized by deflating him and undercutting and eliminating his gaze within the pictorial composition.

Dalí forces the spectator gaze into four distinct quadrants, each occupied by a large figure. The painter forms this watercolor with strong diagonal lines first established by the four figures and then by echoing this symmetry in the blades of the windmills, alluding to gestures of flailing arms and windmill vanes. One of the most striking compositional details of this picture is its corresponding angular, mathematical symmetry, evoking James Thrall Soby's observation that Dalí's work from this period upholds the Renaissance's "most sacrosanct rules of symmetry" (28). One can trace the generally 45-degree angle symmetrical lines in the outstretched arms of the stick figure located inside the head. Dalí also forces our gaze to alternate from foreground to background, in a spiral, beginning with the figure front left, moving to the windmills, rising to the battle in the sky, and then finally contemplating the background landscape.

The overall tone of the composition is fantastic and satiric in the vein of the mock-heroic as stated above, underscoring the comedic rendering of the protagonist's madness at his own expense. To that end, Dalí carefully focalizes fantasy in each of the four quadrants. The painter reserves reality for the lower right quadrant, in front of the windmill closest to the picture plane. The diegetic pictorial narrative begins with the lower left quadrant and the largest figure in the composition. Here, the spectator is confronted with an inanimate, sculptural, and open-headed figure (referred to here as DQ1),¹² which may be read as an allusion to both the inner workings of Don Quixote's mind and the impossibility of his dream. It can also be interpreted as a direct rendering of the passage in which the goatherd exclaims: "this gentleman must have vacant chambers

¹² DQ1 is labeled as the first representation of Don Quixote due to the order of the pictorial narrative in this composition. Subsequent renderings of Don Quixote in the composition will have similar denominations as indicated by the order of the narrative.

in his head” (Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I, 52; 439). While the figure apparently “gazes” upon the scene with the windmills, the lack of eye holes, combined with the inner contents rendered as simple stick figures, underscore the sculptural figure’s role as a metaphoric representation of the protagonist’s mad fantasy (Fig. 6).



Fig. 6. Dalí, Salvador. Detail of the Primary Figurative Modeling of Don Quixote (DQ1) and the Secondary Rendering of Sancho Panza (SP2). *Don Quixote and the Windmills*. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

Even though Dalí renders DQ1 as a metaphor for fantasy that observes both itself and reality in the pictorial composition, it represents the most important figure in the composition precisely because it focalizes a diegetic narration. Its gaze guides the beholder to follow a series of reinterpretations of the same event: the aftermath of Don Quixote’s lost battle with the windmill. Yet because DQ1 represents fantasy, and as such,

fantasy gazes both upon both reality and other elements of fantasy in the composition, its gaze represents nothing less than a metaphoric interaction between fantasy and reality. Specifically, DQ1 represents a metaphor for Don Quixote's fantastic gaze and also serves as a metaphor for the beholder's gaze. Dalí renders that which Romera-Navarro describes above as not achievable by Doré in the previous century: the interaction between reality and fantasy in the same pictorial composition. However, one may argue that Dalí is only able to achieve this by utilizing an inanimate object to represent fantasy rather than composing a direct interaction between the fantastic figures with other actors situated in Don Quixote's reality, such as the real Don Quixote lying at the base of the windmill. As we will see, Dalí evolves this theme even further in the next illustration.

In this illustration, however, it is important to underscore that the figure DQ1 represents both reality and fantasy. Because it is sculptural and non-moving, it is fixed within reality, much as a piece of furniture. However, the beholder notes how Dalí plays with light and shadow to enhance the fantastic tone of the figure. This also firmly situates DQ1 within fantasy. For example, inside DQ1's "head," the shadow on the right indicates a light source that originates from the right, from the direction of the picture plane, as if it were reflected off the spectator. This is a strong indicator that Dalí wishes the narrative to begin here and, by moving to the right, then up towards the fantastic battle in the sky. DQ1 therefore occupies both reality and fantasy in this pictorial composition.

Continuing the pictorial narrative, in the lower right quadrant, Dalí forms windmills that are curiously ambiguous; that is, the spectator clearly perceives them as windmills and not giants yet the painter clearly alludes to anthropomorphism by forming what appear to be human bones to support the vanes' sailcloth and medieval-style lattice

framework. This is visible as bony finger-like projections at the ends of the sails, as well as bone-shaped rods that form the infrastructure of the sails. While Dalí clearly alludes to anthropomorphism, the windmills are clearly just windmills, although Dalí draws our attention to the sleeve-like sails by pooling the watercolor for emphasis.¹³ Dalí then directs our gaze to the real Don Quixote—DQ2—who tumbles off of Rocinante at the base of the first windmill (Fig. 7).



Fig. 7. Dalí, Salvador. Detail of the “Real” yet Secondary Rendering of Don Quixote (DQ2), the Primary Modeling of Rocinante (R1), and the Primary Modeling of Sancho Panza (SP1). *Don Quixote and the Windmills*. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

DQ2 is rendered in color, a technique here that contrasts with the monotone tan and black, underscoring how the painter models them as pertaining to a satirical and

¹³ A technique common in watercolor painting to emphasize important instances in pictorial narratives.

ironic reality at the foot of the would-be giant. He has just attacked the windmill and lost the battle. His lance is broken, which disrupts the predominant angular symmetry of the fantastical composition, situating him in a pictorial rendition of reality. Don Quixote and Rocinante begin to fall, freeze-framing them in a specific moment of satiric potentiality. It is important to underscore here that because the real Don Quixote is falling off Rocinante, his own gaze is impeded and we, as beholders, are unable to see Don Quixote gazing upon the scene. Dalí forces his beholder to follow the diegetic narrative as indicated by DQ1's gaze. Such a gaze not only represents fantasy observing the scene but also alludes to contemplation by the beholder. The real Don Quixote is deflated satirically precisely because his own gaze has been made impossible because Dalí renders him as falling.

Further, by utilizing this metaphoric gaze through DQ1, Dalí successfully manipulates and changes previously-existing iconography that earlier illustrators had universalized as evoking sympathy rather than pity. Dalí skillfully forms DQ1 as the focalizer of reality and fantasy within this one pictorial composition. The result allows the spectator to transition to and from madness and reality within the same narrative. For example, Sancho Panza—SP1—flails his arms in reaction to the incident, in reaction to the lost battle. His arms also repeat the predominant angular symmetry that is first noticed in the windmill vanes. SP1 is also in brown tone because his participation in the mentor/pupil relationship is also generally perceived to be based in fantasy. One can observe how his good-natured demeanor and willingness to learn allow him glimpses into Don Quixote's madness, ultimately permitting him to facilitate and even enable the development of his mentor's fantasy.

In the upper third of the composition, the marvelously grand, fantastic battle unfolds in the sky, furthering an oneiric compositional theme. There is a second horizon to the right, in front of which a figure that can be interpreted as a block figure giant prances onto romantic and heroic Don Quixote—DQ3's—lance. (Fig. 8). The wooden, block-like modeling of the giant parodies and feminizes the figure, while its arms echo the windmills below. The giant figure is rendered in brown tone, signaling its role in fantasy; there is no giant portrayed in color. Fantastic and heroic DQ3 rides from the left on a magnificent Rocinante—R2. One can compare the real Rocinante—R1, a weak and suffering animal at the base of the windmill—, with this grand steed, underscoring the burlesque theatricality of the original text. While knight and steed are rendered in black and white, the lance is strikingly red, which then pierces the giant that reacts in a dramatic leap as if it were choreographed.



Fig. 8. Dalí, Salvador. Detail of the Tertiary Modeling of Don Quixote (DQ3) and the Secondary Rendering of Rocinante (R2). *Don Quixote and the Windmills*. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

Cervantes expert Martín de Riquer offers an alternative reading of the block figure and windmill scene that unfolds in the right half of the composition. He maintains that Rocinante lies alone in a heap at the base of the windmill while the prancing block figure is Don Quixote, who has been lifted into the sky by the first windmill below.

Riquer clarifies:

En la derecha el primer molino lanza por los aires a don Quijote, que parece volar con los brazos y las grandes mangas que los cubren, y Rocinante yace derrumbado al pie del molino. Lo que constituye la fábrica, o edificio, del molino, es de tal suerte que puede ser identificado con un gigante, con la cabeza bien destacada y dos brazos-aspas precisamente en disposición de cruz aspada o de Borgoña, y ello se repite en el segundo molino que hay detrás y en el tercero, situado más lejos. (71)

This reading presents an intriguing gender dichotomy because it both removes a fantastic and satirical giant, while adding a fourth Don Quixote to the composition. The heroic Don Quixote in the upper left quadrant would therefore slay a feminized prancing Don Quixote proposed by Riquer, evoking patriarchal and heteronormative imagery of a masculine Don Quixote slaying a feminine Don Quixote who has failed in his battle with the giants. Since both figures are rendered in fantasy, one can infer that Dalí signals that such an internalized gender battle could only exist within the protagonist's mad fantasy.¹⁴

Fantastic and heroic DQ3 is not in color because color is reserved in this picture for reality. It is significant that the red lance is curiously out of the line of repetition. I perceive that the inversion of color with black and white and brown tones refers to Don Quixote's inability to fulfill his dream, as metaphorically represented by inanimate DQ1 that represents the only manner by which both fantasy and reality are observed. The real

¹⁴ These also represent examples of deconstructing or even parodying gender that are propitious for queer studies in future analyses.

Don Quixote is falling off Rocinante at the base of the windmill, negating the beholder any representation of his gaze upon fantasy or reality. Additionally, DQ2's broken lance represents a metaphor for impotence, both in reality and in fantasy, because DQ2's phallic lance is broken and DQ3 is only slaying a feminized, prancing block figure.

Such a reading falls within certain areas of Cervantine studies regarding masculinity.¹⁵ Authors Carroll B. Johnson and John T. Cull have examined the middle-aged protagonist's potential impotence, underscoring here the pictorial significance of the broken lance (Johnson, "Cervantes and the Unconscious" 81-88; Cull 42).

Concomitantly, another reading just as viable is one where libido is suggested.¹⁶ Compared with DQ2, DQ3's lance is not broken, alluding to a contrasting virility only found in fantasy and not afforded the real Don Quixote in his lamentable reality. At this point "hard" and "soft" acquire a libidinal connotation, alluding to Dalí's pictorial rendering of McGraw's hard reading of *Don Quixote* through his satirical composition and confirming that Dalí sublimates his sexuality by modeling this phallic symbol, in addition to the one in the base of the windmill. Riquer's reading suggests that the red lance represents a metaphor for self-penetration as a masculine Don Quixote penetrates a feminine Don Quixote.¹⁷ However, if one looks closely, there is a Don Quixote figure riding each of the Rocinantes, one sprawled across the back of the crumpled Rocinante at

¹⁵ See Carroll B. Johnson's *Madness and Lust: A Psychoanalytical Approach to Don Quixote* (1983).

¹⁶ See Helena Percas de Ponsetti's interpretation of Don Quixote's lance as a phallic symbol (47).

¹⁷ Martha C. Nussbaum recognizes the theme of passivity in the act of self-penetration as a component of the Freudian Oedipus complex by "having sex with oneself" (165).

the base of the windmill and one riding closely on the back of the fantastic Rocinante in the upper left.

In addition to pictorially reinterpreting the contemporaneous seventeenth-century burlesque reading of the text, another compositional methodology found in the Renaissance is the manipulation and distortion of shadow and lighting. Dalí successfully utilizes this technique first by drawing the spectator's gaze inside DQ1's "head" by establishing a clear light source from the picture plane and slightly to the right. This could be an insinuation that light is reflected from an implied beholder, us, back onto the inside of the head, thus inspiring the spectator to follow DQ1's focalization of a diegetic narrative through its gaze. Indeed, Wolfgang Kemp explains, through art history's theory of esthetics of reception, how implicit beholders are created in the composition of a painting:

In the same way that the beholder approaches the work of art, the work of art approaches him, responding to and recognizing the activity of his perception. [...] This recognition, in other words, is the most felicitous pointer to the most important premise of reception aesthetics: namely, that the function of beholding has already been incorporated into the work itself. (181)

In contrast, Dalí creates lighting discrepancies in the principal horizon in the background, where the predominant light seems to be coming from the center, from behind the top of a distant mountain as viewed from underneath the chin of DQ1, center third, slightly left. The two figures in the fantasy in the upper third of the composition are lit from the top left. Another lighting discrepancy is seen in the miniature laborer figure left of lower third in the background, whose shadow indicates a setting sun to the right behind the horizon. Dalí utilizes this figure throughout his works as a recurring leitmotif

to remind the spectator of the reality that the surrealistic fantasy represented by DQ1 satirizes.

Completing the narrative circle by returning to the interior of DQ1, one reading identifies the figure inside as a stick-figure representation of Sancho Panza—SP2—who, within Don Quixote’s fantasy, simply mimics the outstretched arms of the windmill/giant figure, validating the fantasy for his mentor (Fig. 6). Another reading reveals the figure as a triumphant Don Quixote, whose only success can be found inside a dusty, old, inanimate head. Additionally, the imagined giant’s arms pierce DQ1’s skull, once again reduplicating the Y symmetry found throughout the composition and underscoring the madness that fantasy represents for the protagonist. Freudian psychoanalysis could be applied like a glove on the Dalinian hand by way of rendering fantasy and grandeur.

After all, this image illustrates the original passage—after Don Quixote battles the windmill and loses: “God save me!” said Sancho. “Didn’t I tell your grace to watch what you were doing, that these were nothing but windmills, and only somebody whose head was full of them wouldn’t know that?” (Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I, 8; 59). Because DQ1 is an inanimate head with figures inside, Dalí composes the primary figure within this watercolor in a highly-structured manner that, through its focalization of a diegetic narrative within the picture plane, further challenges the spectator to analyze, reflect, and contemplate the original narrative, as well as to question the universalized iconography developed over the centuries. This is perhaps one of the best representations of pedagogical and didactic qualities Dalí creates in this composition.

As one of Dalí’s exemplary illustrative works from the text, *Don Quixote and the Windmills* showcases what McGraw has categorized as a “hard reading” of *Don Quixote*

(272). I maintain that although one can trace influences in this illustration from previous illustrators, such as Gustave Doré's rendition of Don Quixote's first sally *En cheminant ainsi, notre tout neuf aventurier se parlait à lui-même* (1863) in which the French painter portrays fantasy in the sky above a romanticized Don Quixote, Dalí most significantly formulates a strong link with the original seventeenth-century Spanish reception of *Don Quixote* as a popular book, highlighting Don Quixote as a comical figure, in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries (Schmidt 28). Dalí does not form Don Quixote as a universalized and romantic figure in a composition that conveys the noble gaze of the knight errant. Rather, Dalí satirizes Don Quixote's tragic reality—at the protagonist's expense—by satirically deflating him and juxtaposing madness as the apparent dominant theme within the pictorial narrative, despite the protagonist's inability to gaze upon the scene as described above.

Diegesis in *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock Sheep* (1946)

In Chapter 18 of the first part of *Don Quixote*, Cervantes writes another iconic narrative, that of the adventure of the flock of sheep. In the previous chapter of the novel, Don Quixote realizes that the inn in which he is staying with Sancho is not really a castle, but merely a simple inn. They decide to leave without paying, and as a result, three guests at the inn force Sancho from his donkey and toss him in a blanket (*Don Quixote*

I, 17; 122).¹⁸ Later, while contemplating the details of chivalry on the road, they encounter two flocks of sheep converging in the distance in a great cloud of dust:

As Don Quixote and his squire were having this conversation, Don Quixote saw a large, thick cloud of dust coming toward them along the road they were traveling, and when he saw it, he turned to Sancho and said: "This is the day, O Sancho, when the good fortune that destiny has reserved for me will be revealed! This is the day, I say, when, as much as on any other, the valor of this my arm will be proved, and I shall perform deeds that will be inscribed in the book of Fame for all time to come. Do you see that cloud of dust rising there, Sancho? Well, it conceals a vast army, composed of innumerable and diverse peoples, which is marching toward us." "If that's the case, there must be two," said Sancho, "because over in the opposite direction there's another cloud of dust just like it. Don Quixote turned to look, and he saw that it was true; he was overjoyed, thinking, no doubt, that these were two armies coming to attack and fight each other in the middle of that broad plain. Because at all times and at every moment his fantasy was filled with the battles, enchantments, feats, follies, loves, and challenges recounted in books of chivalry, and everything he said, thought, or did was directed toward such matters. The dust clouds he saw had been raised by two large flocks of ewes and rams traveling along the same road from opposite directions, which could not be seen through the dust until they were very close. (*Don Quixote* I, 18; 125-26)

This passage from the text, in which Don Quixote reinterprets reality within his mad fantasy, is much more complicated than the passage that describes the battle with the windmills. The narrative is much longer, for instance, and throughout the chapter, Don Quixote explains to Sancho that the armies he sees consist of "people from diverse nations" and that some of which are "clad in iron, ancient relics of Gothic blood" (*Don Quixote* I, 18; 128). They are medieval knights that pose a greater threat

¹⁸ The fourth color plate of this edition portrays this scene in the illustration titled *Sancho's Blanketing* (1946) (Cervantes, *The First Part* 206-07). Riquer notes how Dalí utilizes a strong red watercolor to emphasize the blanket: "El manteamiento de Sancho (I, 17), ilustrado en la acuarela 3621, que forzosamente trae a la memoria al Pelele de Goya, llama la atención porque la manta es roja, algo poco frecuente, por las posturas y el alegre comportamiento de los manteadores, entre ellos una mujer, y por la divertida figura de un Sancho volando por los aires con el sombrero desprendido encima de la cabeza" (Riquer 72).

than the giants of the windmills. Yet Sancho Panza realizes that they are simply two flocks of sheep moving towards each other:

Lord save me! [...] Señor, may the devil take me, but no man, giant, or knight of all those your grace has mentioned can be seen anywhere around here; at least, I don't see them; maybe it's all enchantment, like last night's phantoms. [...] Your grace, come back, Señor Don Quixote, I swear to God you're charging sheep! Come back, by the wretched father who sired me! What madness is this? Look and see that there are no giants or knights, no cats or armor or shields either parted or whole, no blue vairs or bedeviled ones, either. Poor sinner that I am in the sight of God, what are you doing? (*Don Quixote* I, 18; 128-30)

Representing the third iconic and epic narrative in Part 1 of the novel, Dalí chooses to illustrate it for his third color plate of the 1946 edition, titled *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep* (1946) (Fig. 9). Again, as in the previous illustration, Dalí's pictorial narrative begins in the lower left quadrant where the predominant figure is a sculptural, clearly wooden, open-headed Don Quixote. This sculptural figure, just as in the previous illustration, functions as a focalizer of a diegetic narrative within this composition that guides the beholder's gaze upon both reality and fantasy. Its metaphorical representation of fantasy observing both the fantastic representations in the sky as well as the sardonic reality of Don Quixote entering the inn allows a metaphoric interaction between reality and fantasy. The real Don Quixote is unable to gaze upon the scene, thereby negating the beholder an interpretation as viewed by protagonist Don Quixote. Romera-Navarro's postulation that fantasy can never interact with reality—unless it is through a metaphoric representation—in a singular pictorial composition is therefore reified in this illustration, at least to this point, in the pictorial narrative.

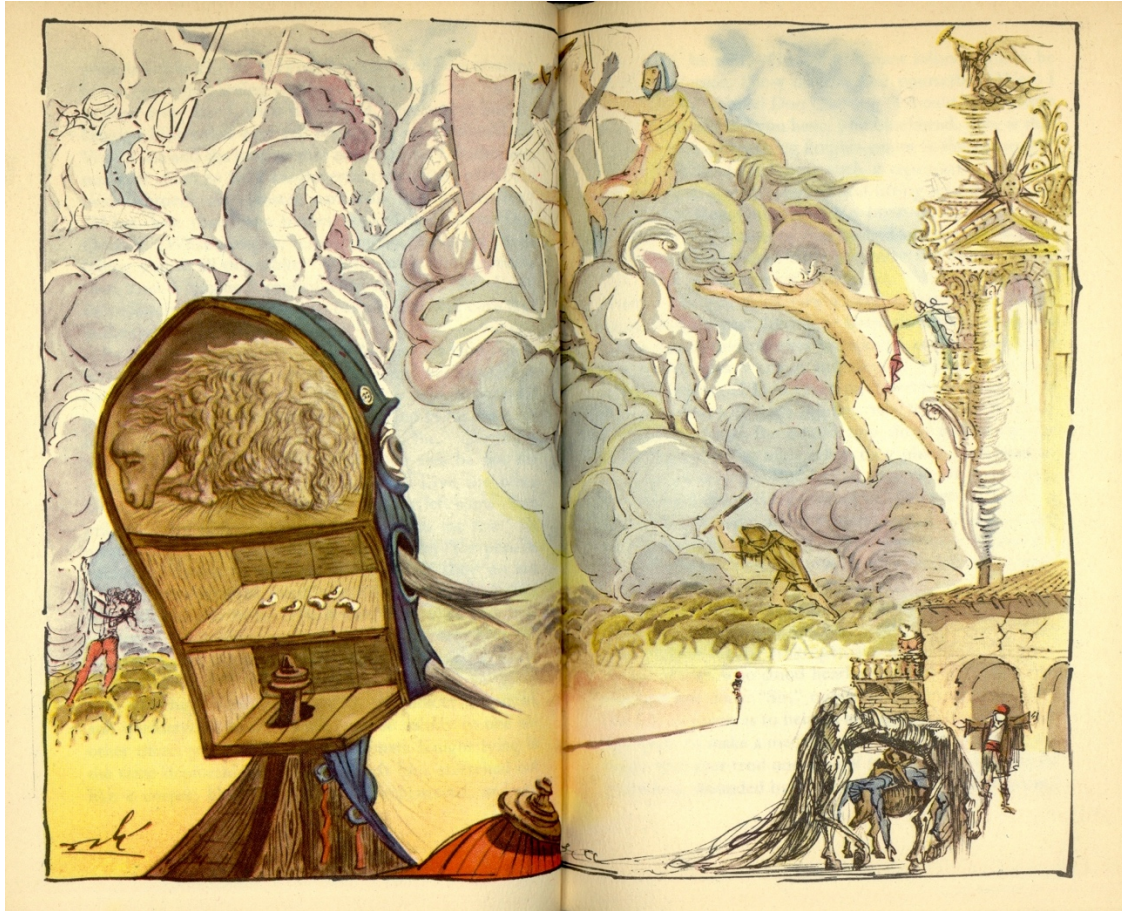


Fig. 9. Dalí, Salvador. *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*. 1946. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

Dalí divides this sculptural head into three compartments in which the beholder views a lamb, beans, and an architectural wooden fastener that suggests that the head wobbles back and forth but does not fall to the ground. Dalí emphasizes the figure's gaze upon the scene by forming representations of eyes on this figure, a feature not present in the previous image. Further, Dalí signals that this figure represents Don Quixote with the tufts of grey hair that protrude from holes, alluding to the protagonist's beard, one of his most recognizable features.

In this image, the composition is less complex, as the bifurcations between reality and fantasy, and between color and black and white, are diminished in comparison with the previous image. Here, as we will see, they exist simultaneously by interacting together to portray the pictorial narrative. Yet, in this illustration, Dalí succeeds in rendering reality interacting with fantasy, as will be revealed below.

Like the previous image, the composition is divided into four quadrants with the sculptural head at the lower left. The horizon is closer to the picture plane than in the previous images, and when combined with the figure in the lower left quadrant with red pants who pulls aside the clouds as if they were a theatrical curtain, underscores the theatricality of the scene unfolding in the sky. In the lower right quadrant, Dalí renders the inn, the innkeeper and his wife, and Rocinante, behind which the beholder observes Sancho Panza and his donkey. Don Quixote rides on Sancho's donkey while Rocinante is so emaciated that the spectator can view Don Quixote sprawled across the donkey within the space between Rocinante's belly and the ground. Don Quixote lies with his head at the rear of the donkey and they are clearly arriving at the inn. Again, just as in the previous two images, the lower right quadrant signals reality by undercutting and satirizing Don Quixote and Sancho Panza at the inn.

In this quadrant is one of the shepherds who tries to control his flock of sheep, a clear reference to what is happening in Don Quixote's reality. Additionally, Dalí inserts his famous leitmotif of a small, almost indistinguishable figure that here casts a long shadow to the left, indicating a setting sun. This figure wears a red hat and red sash, just like the innkeeper. Whether this figure represents a peasant or laborer is unclear and even the gender of the figure is nebulous, due to its pose. However, the shadow it creates is

most significant and suggests that the figure is female. Within the shadow, the shoulders and slightly-lowered head allude to the mother figure in *El ángelus* by Millet, mentioned above. This figure likely represents a peasant woman or laborer, as Dalí often signals both absence and anguish through an allusion to Millet's work.

As the spectator gaze moves up to the upper right quadrant in this pictorial narrative, the smoke from the inn transforms into a castle, signaling the narrative focalization towards fantasy. Yet there is an angelic figure with wings that alludes to a Catholic tone. As reviewed in Chapter 2, Dalí clearly did not think much of either Marxism or Christianity but did respect Catholicism (Gibson 395).¹⁹ Dalí renders this castle as a church and a Catholic theme links to Sancho's use of Catholic vocabulary—devil, God, and father—in the narrative from the scene this image illustrates, as cited above.²⁰

Within the swirl of the clouds in the sky, Dalí forms naked knights with only a hint of protective armor. One wears a helmet, one carries a shield, and the opposing army, also naked, wield lances. Clearly, Dalí satirizes Don Quixote's narration of what he sees as medieval knights by removing their clothing and armor. The two clouds produced by the two flocks of sheep meet slightly left of top center where the two armies are about

¹⁹ Dalí clarifies his view on Catholicism in an interview with Alain Bosquet in 1966, as translated to English in 1969: "S.D.: Since I am not possessed of faith, which is a God-given grace, I rely on my studies, my cosmogony, and all that the special sciences of my era bring me. I concede that the Roman Catholic Apostolic Church is right in regard to the immortality of my soul. My past history, my family, my father—an atheist lawyer—have not allowed me to find faith. Without this faith, I accept the conquests of science that shall deliver me from death. A. B.: You say you have no faith, and yet you're the most ardent of Catholics. S. D.: Precisely" (Bosquet 30).

²⁰ Catholic themes coincide with Dalí's return to classicism in the 1930s and 1940s. Dalí, a self-proclaimed devout Catholic, will later utilize Catholic imagery in many of his paintings.

to clash. Yet Dalí renders the army on the left in simple black and white sketches, with no color, alluding to a caricaturized performance by the actors in the imagined battle. As such, the figure in the lower left quadrant with red pants represents a second shepherd who, like a stagehand, attempts to pull back the theatrical curtain and signals with his other hand the existence of simple flocks of sheep. (Fig. 10).

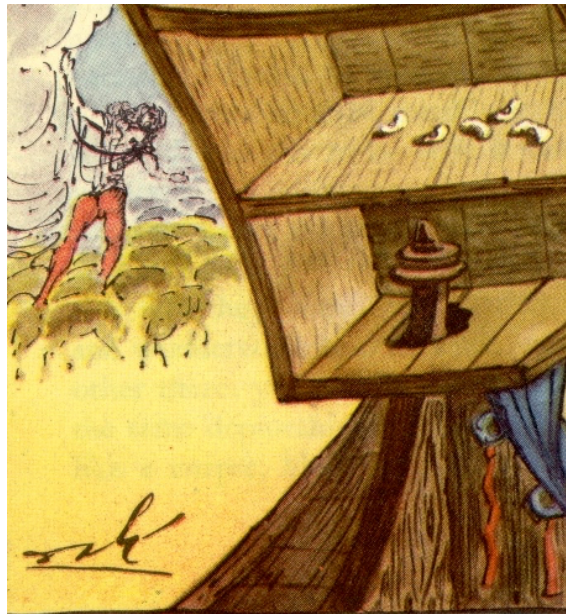


Fig. 10. Dalí, Salvador. Detail of the Shepherd Figure Interacting with Reality and Fantasy. *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*. Offset watercolor. *Cervantes Project*. Texas A&M University. © Salvador Dalí, Fundació Gala-Salvador Dalí, Artists Rights Society (ARS), New York 1946.

This figure, although easy to overlook, in my view, represents the most important actor in this illustration. I interpret it to represent an aspect of Don Quixote's reality—a simple shepherd tending to his flock—signaling the fantasy unfolding beyond the theatrical curtain that is rendered here as a cloud of dust. The shepherd holds the dusty curtain aside to indicate and recognize fantasy within the sky beyond. Dalí clearly

challenges Romera-Navarro's insistence that reality and fantasy cannot interact in a single image precisely because this figure with red pants facilitates the beholder's gaze—and the metaphoric gaze by the sculptural head—upon the fantastic rendering in the sky.

Dalí achieves this by forming the shepherd as a second focalizer of our gaze upon the fantastic representation beyond the dust, therefore acting as a second diegetic narrator within the pictorial story. Specifically, it holds the cloud aside with its right arm while, with its left, it both guides the sheep into their role in the protagonist's fantasy and, most importantly, indicates that we focus our gaze away from Don Quixote's reality and towards his fantasy. Yet we, as beholders, cannot focus solely on fantasy and, by simultaneously viewing renderings of both Don Quixote's reality and fantasy, we no longer view the scene solely through the protagonist's mad perspective.

Riquer analyzes the illustration slightly differently:

En la aventura de los rebaños (I, 18), Dalí, en la acuarela 3606 (pág. 117) pinta en el cielo, y en medio de nubarrones, la batalla entre los ejércitos imaginados por don Quijote, pero los guerreros que contienden no son caballeros medievales, como tan claramente da a entender Cervantes, sino unos combatientes desnudos, que atacan o defienden una artificiosa torre formada por el humo que sale de la chimenea de una casucha. Al pie de los nubarrones un pastor guía un pequeño rebaño. Por encima de todo destaca la cabeza de don Quijote, de espaldas, abierta toda ella y con tres compartimentos. En el primero aparece un cordero encogido, al estilo del *Agnus Dei*, en el segundo algo así como excrementos de carnero, y en el inferior lo que parece una fuente de piedra. Es de notar que en la cabeza de don Quijote no aparece lo que está imaginando—los dos ejércitos—, sino la realidad, aunque mixtificada, o sea, un carnero. (71-72)

Riquer notes that the warriors in the sky are clearly not medieval knights. He interprets the smoke from the inn as a castle, not a church. Yet his analyses of the contents within the sculptural head are most significant. Riquer considers the lamb as an allusion to *Agnus Dei*, or the Lamb of God, further underscoring an overarching Catholic theme and tone to the pictorial composition. Riquer alludes to sacrifice on the part of Don Quixote

who kills seven sheep in his mad rage among the flocks (Cervantes, *Don Quixote* I, 23; 130). Whereas Riquer sees excrement in the second level, if one looks closely, they are beans. Beans historically represent war—or the futility of war—for Dalí.²¹ Finally, Riquer interprets a stone fountain in the lower third of the head. I maintain that this represents the continuation of the wooden base upon which the head rests, serving as a wooden fastener that keeps the head from falling to the ground.

While the angles in this composition are less obvious, the four-quadrant methodology Dalí employs ensures a dramatic spectator reception. The renderings of reality are more pronounced in this painting, however, which serves to diminish the role of fantasy in the composition.

Conclusions

Diegetic pictorial narrative is the technique that Dalí utilizes in these two illustrations to create the greatest effect on the beholder: we no longer see through Don Quixote's gaze. The universalization of such a rendering began with Coypel in the eighteenth century and continues to the present day, underscoring Don Quixote as a heroic figure whose morality inspires emulation, not pity. Dalí's second and third watercolors leave the spectator with no choice to perceive Don Quixote as a deflated figure—just as in the mock-epics from the eighteenth century—precisely because the painter forms a character narrator in the pictorial composition whose diegetic narrative

²¹ Gibson underscores how Dalí associates beans with war. Dalí's early masterpiece *Soft Construction with Boiled Beans* was strategically retitled *Spain. Premonition of Civil War* (364-67). It is likely that beans represent the inevitability of war.

forces the beholder to “read” the illustration as if it were a text. This, combined with the manner by which Dalí impedes the rendering of a real Don Quixote’s gaze in the pictorial composition, deflates and satirizes the protagonist and forces us to view him as humorous. The sculptural head figures found in both images therefore serve to represent both fantasy and reality metaphorically, but also allude to our own gaze upon the illustration as situated in both fantasy and reality, signaling a metaphoric interaction between reality and fantasy.

In *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*, however, Dalí renders a male figure situated in reality that clearly reacts to and interacts with fantasy. This figure represents the most important rendering Dalí creates thus far in the first three watercolor illustrations. On one hand, it presents an example of pedagogy within the pictorial composition. On the other, it demonstrates careful contemplation not only of the original narrative he illustrates but also of the work by previous illustrators. Both suggest that Dalí maintains a respect of epic Cervantine storytelling that the painter reproduces in his own diegetic pictorial narrative. Dalí creates in these two pictorial compositions what I consider the epitome of *l’art vivant*: said interaction between reality and fantasy. As a result, Dalí carves out a unique niche for himself as one of many illustrators of the most famous novel in history as a pictorial narrator who reinterprets fantasy and reality in a unique manner.

CONCLUSIONS

Dalí treats the image of Don Quixote in a natural manner and with respect, which can be seen in the restraint and sobriety of the interpretations the painter made. (Consuelo Císcar Casabán 12)

Analyses of the reception of the 1946 text and Dalí are complicated due to the fact that the majority of what we know of Dalí was written by Dalí, later in hind-sight. As I point out, Dalí biographers reach consensus that one should read Dalí's account of events with caution, while other scholars such as García de la Rasilla, find value hidden in the artist's retrospections. I share both perspectives. Regarding Dalí's classical trajectory, I have therefore focused on evidence-based observations and analyses found in Dalí's earlier essays, which one can argue are also written in a self-aggrandizing manner. Even so, the fact that Dalí is writing about classicism earlier than he himself maintains in 1941 helps us define a temporal scope upon which to define the beginning of Dalí's classical trajectory. The same evidence-based strategy applies to my art historical analyses, which are very much my own analyses as a beholder, and as explained by Freedberg in the introduction, I have established my own relationship with the images. What I see as evidence, another scholar may interpret in another manner. Yet this is the nature of literary and art analyses, and as a result, healthy academic debates are inspired.

Regarding art history, I wish to clarify that art analyses require a more active voice than is customary in literary analyses. For example, rather than wording a statement such as: "The formation by Dalí of lines in the composition affects the beholder," in art historical analysis, one would phrase it as: "Dalí forms lines in the composition that

affect the beholder.” While I have attempted to improve my active voice in the chapters involving art historical analyses, this can potentially cause conflict with the reader accustomed to literary and scientific analyses that tend to utilize a more passive voice.

Future investigations inspired by this dissertation include analyses of the other seven watercolor illustrations and the thirty-one vignettes of the 1946 text. This will include mise-en-page issues regarding the placement of the ten color images and whose decision it was to place them where they are. I will therefore seek clarification on this and other production details by consulting the Random House archives and visiting the Dalí-Theatre Museum in Figueres, Spain to review the texts that García de la Rasilla maintains Dalí consulted before illustrating the 1946 text. Additionally, I seek to identify the purchaser of the ten watercolors that the Dalís were so adamant to sell. Finally, the peasant figure leitmotif merits further investigation.

Regarding the materiality of the 1946 text, I will also examine the other illustrated texts that comprise the series published by The Illustrated Modern Library in the early-to-mid-1940s. Specifically, I wish to compare paper quality, binding quality, book design, and especially ink quality. Additionally, how did Dalí’s illustrations compare in complexity with the illustrations produced by other artists for the other texts? Is this even relevant, given that there was a market for such texts and that they sold well? How were their illustrations spaced within the text? These questions will be investigated in the Random House archives. The text’s relationship with the print history of the genre will also be studied in more detail, particularly as the small book size relates to this history. Finally, other artists’ and art critics’ reception of the illustrations will be investigated.

Of significant academic interest is the establishment of the text's reception in Europe and Spain, given Dalí's association with Communism and reported support of Franco. For example, how did this affect his return to Spain in 1948? Another theme that falls outside the scope of this dissertation inspires me to explore, in more depth, Dalí's sexuality issues. Utilizing queer theory, I will seek evidence that his relationships—friendships with Spanish filmmaker Luis Buñuel and poet Federico García Lorca, among others, and marriage to Gala—and his general concept of sexuality were indeed queer and non-heteronormative, by today's definition and concept of the terminology and theory.¹

Yet, by examining Salvador Dalí's classical trajectory, we can begin to sift through decades of the artist's private trauma, paranoia, and sexual sublimation that he famously and publicly divulged for both self-protection and monetary gain. Regarding protection, on one hand, his public persona was so sensationalist and polemically overwhelming that any real insights into who the real Dalí was continue to lie buried beneath the hype and public antics. This confusion was protective for him in the sense that "the Dalinian" was difficult to understand and Dalí, as a man, author, and artist, was difficult to define. On the other hand, one can conclude that Dalí was simply who and what Dalí wanted us to believe, and that he did what he wanted, despite positive or negative public reception. Attention is attention after all, even if it is negative, and Dalí utilized his public persona to focalize public attention towards his own acceptance as a celebrity painter and that of Surrealism as an economic money-maker.

¹ Taking this theme one step further, another future essay regards the queering of Cervantes, *Don Quixote*, and protagonist Don Quixote, and the issues surrounding the application of present-day theories to a 400-year-old text.

The same overshadowing effect that his public persona inspired should also be taken into consideration when analyzing his art, especially his illustrated texts, and even more specifically, his illustrations for the 1946 *Don Quixote*, that, as a result of this overshadowing, I believe did not receive the critical acclaim they deserve.² Indeed, in the case of his book illustrations, I maintain that his public persona's reputation for creating sensationalism and kitsch backfired and the critical reception of his illustrations for the 1946 text was not as favorable as it could have been. For example, there is very little publicly-expressed feedback or reviews, save Soby's marketing-inspired focus on classicism. Even Doyle, an academic reviewer, simply categorizes the illustrations "not as weird" as some of Dalí's paintings and focuses more on the dust jacket and typography than the illustrations. He does, however, mention that the illustrations are "well reproduced," indicating his appreciation of the series in general published by The Illustrated Modern Library.

In the end, although this series of smaller, hardcover texts produced during the mid-1940s was marketed towards the common man, many copies ended up in elitist collections owned by people interested in the text, the illustrations, or even the whole series.³ This is the primary manner by which the text challenges the print history of this genre. As we saw in the introduction to this dissertation, this collective phenomenon

² Not acclaimed because their value was displaced by the focus on his crazy public persona, his sexualized paintings, and the marketing of Surrealism in North America as kitsch. This process is further complicated, because Dalí will go on to illustrate *Don Quixote* in 1957 for Emecé in Spain, reutilizing the imagery from the 1946 text, a process he continues in the 1965 Mateu edition. It is important to note that some art historians and scholars confuse the original publication year of this imagery, citing some of the watercolors from the forties as being created in the fifties. See *Dalí y el Quijote* (90-93).

³ Due to their smaller, uniform size, the texts look appealing placed together on library shelves.

usually results from printing larger, more lavish editions. Concomitantly, editions from The Illustrated Modern Library series and Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* may have also ended up in collections owned by customers of Woodward and Lothrop interested simply in pictures by "Stevedore Dali." Yet the overall popularity and value of the text are revealed first, because the Dalís themselves ask for copies of the text in their correspondence, signaling its value for them. Second, an educator, Professor E. H. Hespelt recognizes Dalí's illustrations as "striking" yet also values the text because he seeks a copy in order to obtain Ozell's revision of the Peter Motteux 1700-03 translation utilized in the 1946 text. Years later, Doyle mentions in 1954 that the text, with its "less Dalí-ish" illustrations, was likely "out of print," implying that it may have already been difficult to obtain a copy.

Concomitantly, however, Dalí's public obsession with paranoia and oneiric imagery afforded him fame and fortune, especially in 1940s North America. Ian Gibson's assessment of Dalí as an "ambitious-child-made-good-at-thirty-seven" explains such fame while underscoring his child-like dependence on his wife Gala for support and guidance. Yet Dalí's personal fear of homosexuality, Freud's contention that paranoia represents a defense against homosexuality, and Dalí's subsequent sublimation of his entire sexuality all resurfaced in the 1940s as desublimated, fetishized imagery in his paintings. From this observation alone, one can conclude that Dalí was a weak-minded and child-like human being who depended on his wife for inspiration, direction, and management, especially when considering his overall oeuvre in the 1940s as sensationalist and visual fetishism.

However, in this dissertation I underscore the artist's classic training that allowed him to illustrate the 1946 *Don Quixote* in a manner that, casting aside the hype, demonstrates a respect of epic, classical imagery, and original Cervantine narrative. Whether one likes or admires Dalí and his work, or not, I maintain that any reception of Dalí as weak or child-like is limited in scope and does not take into consideration that Dalí was a classically-trained and multi-faceted artist capable of creating didactic and pedagogical imagery. Dalí very consciously and strategically created his paranoiac-critical method as a means of expressing oneiric imagery and validating his break from European Surrealism. Indeed, as Consuelo Císcar Casabán, Director of the Institut Valencià d'Art notes in 2005, the 400-year anniversary of the publication of Part I of *Don Quixote*: "Dali, differing with the narratives that fashioned modern art, creates a magic realism converting Renaissance idealism into hyperrealism. As a result, he immediately outgrew the surrealist propositions in order to become something more and to lead the vanguard movement" (12).

Dalí subsequently reinvented his public persona, one that served as an outlet for his sublimated sexuality that I consider exemplary of the Dionysian aspects of "hidden" and "abandoned," as defined by Pooke and Newall. Yet the hidden and abandoned sexuality had to surface somehow. Dalí's over-the-top antics served him as a release valve of pent-up sexuality through public manifestations of Dionysian "drunkenness" as conceived by Nietzsche. Dalí's public persona represented the Otherness to the artist's "displayed" artistic Apollonian dream methodologies, ensuring the recognition, if not acceptance, of this binary construct—Dalí as a whole package—within academia, the art world, and popular culture. By revisiting his classical training and declaring a public

return to Renaissance classicism in both his writings and plastic art, Dalí initiated his own version of a classical legacy, a theory of classic artistic imitation that, just as Alonso Quijano expresses in Part I of *Don Quixote*, ensured his own legacy through imitation.

Indeed, the parallels between Dalí and Alonso Quijano/Don Quixote are striking. First among them is the creation of dualities between reality/fantasy and sexual fantasy/sexual sublimation that are quite propitious to pictorial reinterpretations, especially of *Don Quixote*. Second, readers and beholders, including Dalí, identify with the duality of madman/hero partly due to the universalization of quixotic iconography in previous centuries that transformed Don Quixote from a burlesque to a heroic figure, reinforcing pictorially the original Cervantine binary of reality and fantasy that Dalí inherits. While there is no evidence of cause and effect to support any hypothetical influence on Dalí by the binaries found in *Don Quixote* that first, may have influenced his decision to cast aside his sensationalist and desublimated sexualized imagery found in his paintings, and second, could have guided his diegetic pictorial narrative based on these binaries, one must consider the obvious parallel, binary phenomenon, his public persona, that Dalí established to separate his personal and professional lives.

It is not surprising that he focused on the binary of reality and fantasy in his illustrations due to his own perception of the same. Yet there is evidence in the first three illustrations that the artist chose not to focus on sexual fetishism but instead utilized classicism when he illustrated the 1946 text. Indeed, I maintain that Dalí juxtaposed reality and fantasy through a diegetic pictorial narrative in which fantasy metaphorically gazes upon itself and upon reality, and as a result, Dalí elevated Don Quixote's fantastic gaze to the level of mock-heroic, only to undercut him by rendering his reality as a

deflated and broken figure.⁴ Dalí did not sacrifice a surrealistic style to create an oneiric tone to the dualities found in these illustrations.

On the contrary, Don Quixote's own concept of a duality between reality and fantasy propelled Dalí to pictorially narrate his own reinterpretation of quixotic iconography through surrealistic renditions of myth and epic storytelling, as in *Don Quixote's First Sally with Phoebus and Aurora*. Further, Dalí rendered his own version of a character narrator, through inanimate and sculptural narrator figures that guide the beholder in a pictorial diegesis through focalization. Dalí utilized Baroque methodologies, much like Caravaggio, that encourage the beholder to consult the original text for clarification. These methods are far from low-brow art, kitsch, or cartoons, and as such, I argue that Dalí successfully produced imagery that documents his "classical ambition" as delineated by Finkelstein, or more specifically, his classical trajectory—ambitious or not—a full decade before it is generally accepted in art circles. The revelation of Dalí's pedagogical focus through the utilization of classicism in his illustrations offers new insight into art historians' and critics' perceptions of Dalí and his work in the 1940s. Additionally, the painter's classical imagery and use of diegesis in his pictorial narratives to form reality interacting with fantasy reveal his unique niche in the print history of illustrated editions of *Don Quixote* and represent how Dalí challenges the historicity of illustrating Cervantes's text.

Yet commonalities exist between Dalí and previous illustrators of Cervantes's text that include themes such as how the painter raised humor to the level of satire. While his

⁴ Future investigations will seek evidence regarding whether Dalí was specifically influenced as a reader by the genre of the mock epic.

paintings and other popular culture works are labeled by the art world as kitsch—within the wildly successful New York world of modern art in the 1940s—as Julia Pine notes in her recent dissertation, Dalí raised the bar and satirized kitsch in his popular work through his humoristic interpretations that became “not simply kitsch, but pointed parodies of kitsch” (423). Although Clement Greenberg clearly disliked kitsch and was particularly “offended” by Dalinian cartoon-like imagery in much of his work, Dalí successfully marketed his paintings and humor by combining what Pine considers “kitsch, amusing captions, and playing up human tendencies [... transforming] Surrealist objects rife with Freudian associations and menacing eroticism into veritable cartoon characters with immediate appeal to a popular American audience” (412-25). However, Pine is speaking of Dalí’s overall oeuvre, not specifically of his book illustrations.

Parody turns to satire within the genre of illustrated texts, and through the painter’s imagery for the 1946 *Don Quixote*, Dalí—just as Coypel and Doré before him—raised *burla* to satire and low art to high art, eliminating the categorization of kitsch when the intellectual beholder analyzes his illustrations. Indeed, it is essential to separate book illustrations from Dalí’s paintings in the 1940s to effectively analyze the absence of kitsch in his quixotic imagery. By doing so, a classical methodology is revealed that simply cannot be labeled cartoon-like. The analyses in this dissertation reveal that Dalí clearly cast aside the desublimated sexual imagery that afforded his paintings high fame and high prices to instead allow the rendering of narrative passages befitting the dignity of Cervantes’s text, as well as that of a Renaissance classical master. This is viewable not only thematically but also methodologically, as in the manner by which Dalí pools

watercolor to help illustrate a pictorial narrative and in Dalí's mastery of the nuances of color.⁵

Just as Alonso Quijano in *Don Quixote* sublimates his sexuality and flees from reality, Dalí sublimated his sexuality, separating his reality from his fantasy by creating an Apollonian approach to a non-feeling, non-emotional existence—as proposed by Gibson regarding Dalí's relationship with Federico García Lorca—through the denial of his sexuality, which is later desublimated through fetishized sexual imagery in his paintings, as observed by Greeley (56-60). I propose that, within the illustrations analyzed in this dissertation from the 1946 text, one reason that Dalí did not desubliminate this sexuality is because he was already desublimating it in his paintings and through the sensationalist antics performed by his Dionysian public persona. Dalí was free to focus completely on his analyses of the Cervantine narratives he illustrated precisely because he did not apply his self-imposed public hype—regarding the utilization of sexual imagery to sell his work—when illustrating the 1946 text.

By analyzing Dalí's earlier essays, we reveal a slow build-up of classical ideas that, when compared with Dalí's later writings, deflate and contradict the artist's declaration that he suddenly “became” classic in the 1940s after meeting Sigmund Freud. Freud's true role in Dalí's classical trajectory is still nebulous, thanks in part to Dalí's own accounts. However, Dalí was clearly already on a classical path as demonstrated in his essays, and his retrospective accounts regarding Freud are to be taken with a grain of salt, as expressed by Gibson (xxvii). Further, although Gibson and Finkelstein expound

⁵ Future analyses will explore methodologies and techniques associated with watercolor painting.

that Dalí did not achieve a classical hand until the 1950s, and although Greenberg categorized Dalí's overall oeuvre as kitsch, through art analyses we observe clear mythological figures and Renaissance and Baroque classical methodologies not recognized by earlier biographers or art historians.

For example, a recent art historian's perspective continues to categorize Dalí's classical turn as a phenomenon that begins after 1948. In her dissertation, *A Spaniard in New York: Salvador Dalí and the Ruins of Modernity 1940-1948* (2009), Gisela M. Carbonell-Coll maintains that Dalí, upon his return to Spain in 1948, begins his focus on classicism.⁶ I would simply argue that Dalí was already creating paintings with mythological compositions rich in metaphors in the 1930s, such as *The Metamorphosis of Narcissus* (1936-37), and that book illustration analyses, such as those contained here regarding Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote*, can potentially change Dalí's artistic legacy from the producer of kitsch in the 1940s to that of a classical artist worthy of imitation.

In Chapter 2, we asked whether the creation of a legacy worthy of reinterpretation and imitation is Dalí's only inspiration behind his classical focus in his essays. While this represents one of his motivators, I argue that it was not the only factor. As Dalí and Gala demonstrate in their correspondence with Random House, one of their primary goals was to sell the original watercolors used for the illustrations of the 1946 *Don Quixote*.

Additionally, one can ask the same question regarding a legacy when contemplating Dalí's utilization of Renaissance classical imagery and methodologies in these

⁶ Carbonell-Coll clarifies: "Dalí and Gala returned to Spain in 1948 after an eight-year stay in the United States. The artist turned to classical sources and sought to emulate Renaissance painters by portraying mythological subjects with clear technical precision and metaphorical meanings. Multiple manifestations of the presence of the past are a key component of most of Dalí's artistic output" (155).

illustrations. Did he want to be imitated by future illustrators of *Don Quixote*? While the answer to that question remains unclear at this critical point in the artist's classical trajectory—just before he returns to Spain—, as Fanés notes, Dalí surely would never have negated any type of imitation of his legacy, which he began to nurture in the 1920s with his earliest essays (215).

I conclude that both definitions of classicism focused upon in this study—classic Greek and Roman mythological imagery and Renaissance and Baroque classicism through methodologies that inspire the beholder to visit the original text for clarification—represent but two of the methodologies through which Dalí formulated a legacy worthy of imitation. Based upon Hardie's categorization of classicism as a "self-conscious development of a theory of imitation" ("Classicism"), I propose that Dalí consciously developed his own theory of imitation in his illustrations for the 1946 text. He formulated a methodology anchored in classicism that he likely considered worthy of imitation, just as he considered his own methodologies as imitation worthy of Renaissance classic painters. Of course, Dalí's primary methodology most worthy of imitation was represented by his focus on paranoia and dreams, as the artist developed and perfected his paranoiac-critical method during the temporal scope of this dissertation.

As Dalí would have us believe, his classical focus and subsequent development of his paranoiac-critical method resulted from his meeting with Sigmund Freud. However, based on the rhetoric regarding classicism in Dalí's essays, I observe no cause and effect; rather, Dalí was simply doing whatever Dalí wanted to do and utilized his meeting with Freud—as he did with any publicly exploitable circumstance—to justify his break with European Surrealism. Here, I interpret Hardie's phrase "highest class of citizens"

(“Classicism” 322) as describing Dalí’s capitalistic turn that was facilitated by his move to the United States in the 1940s, where the common-man market from the emerging middle class after World War II fed Dalí’s elitism. We can now see Finkelstein’s nomenclature of Dalí’s classical trajectory as “classical ambition” for what it is: pure ambition. Yet, without strong classical training, Dalí could never have pursued such an ambition, either in his plastic art or his essays (Alexandrian 95). Further, without the other side of the coin regarding classicism—the élan of Dalí’s Dionysian public persona—he would not have been able to popularize his art. It just so happens that the North American reading public, as described by Munson, was traumatized after the end of World War II and sought answers to political polemics in literature through a bard (118). Dalí was the pictorial bard for the 1946 *Don Quixote* although, as I observe here, the balancing act between artist and celebrity was difficult to maintain and, in the end, the celebrity overtook the artist when the 1946 text was published, as evidenced by contemporary reviews.

Yet Dalí did not create this text alone. The materiality of the text and the unlikely pairing between Dalí and Random House/The Illustrated Modern Library, included a team comprised of Bennett Cerf and R. A. Freiman, among others, who worked together to design and print Dalí’s text. While the text was one of a series of illustrated “classics,”⁷ Dalí’s pictorial diegetic narrative and colorization set the text apart from others in a

⁷ The slogan utilized by The Modern Library (not The Illustrated Modern Library) stated: “The Modern Library of the World’s Best Books.” This can be observed in the 1936 edition of *The Complete Works of Lewis Carroll* and in the 1950 edition of *Wuthering Heights*. Since some of the texts published by The Modern Library were illustrated, it is therefore easy to confuse their publications with those published by The Illustrated Modern Library.

manner that is rather profound. Paper and other material shortages aside, Dalí's illustrations were much more intricate, more colorful, and contained pictorial narratives that forced the beholder to contemplate what is happening in the pictorial composition. This Baroque methodology appears to be unique to the series published by The Illustrated Modern Library, as the illustrations produced by other artists for the series of texts illustrated by the publishing house were less complex.⁸

The fact that other artists illustrating for The Illustrated Modern Library were creating generally simpler illustrations for their texts I believe coincides with Munson's observation that the new middle-class reading public in North America sought "social reform lifted to an imaginative plane" (118) and that they were simply content to find refuge in reading literature and looking at the illustrations. Escaping reality was the driving factor behind the emotional rather than an intellectual interest in literature (Munson 117). Yet Dalí's 1946 *Don Quixote* was successful at both levels: emotional and intellectual. First, the sweeping, colorfully sexy imagery entertained readers and beholders who were not interested in a specific didactic Cervantine iconographic reinterpretation by Dalí. The illustrations were, at first glance, simply pretty and

⁸ Compare, for example, the detail of Dalí's illustrations with George Grosz's black and white illustrations for Dante Alighieri's *The Divine Comedy* (1944)—with the exception of a colorful frontispiece—, Edward A. Wilson's green, black, and brown illustrations for Charlotte Brontë's *Jane Eyre* (1944), Hugo Steiner-Prag and William Sharp's green-tone illustrations for Bennett Cerf's compiled *Famous Ghost Stories* (1946), and Philip Reisman's less colorful and simpler compositions in his illustrations for Fyodor Dostoyevsky's *Crime and Punishment* (1945). Future analyses at the Random House Archives will investigate correspondence between George Salter, the designer of the 1946 text, and Random House. Issues will be revealed regarding his assessment of Dalí's illustrations as very high quality, deserving of a larger format. This implies that Salter considered the smaller format as not propitious to showcasing Dalí's finer illustrations. Additionally, art analyses of the other texts published in 1946 by The Illustrated Modern Library outside of the scope of this dissertation will compare didactic and pedagogical qualities to their illustrations to determine if Dalí's illustrations are unique in this series within those parameters.

entertaining. Second, for those seeking pedagogical and didactic qualities, Dalí provided interpretative imagery based on Cervantine narratives and challenged the reader and beholder to understand his own pictorial narrative as focalized within the illustrations' compositions.

While the emotional public reception can label Dalí's 1946 illustrations as low art, the intellectual reception cannot, and this is the reason I conclude that Dalí achieved true Renaissance and Baroque classicism through mythological imagery and methodologies that challenge the beholder. Dalí raised both kitsch and *engaño* to satire, all the while entertaining the masses in the process. Specifically, Dalí successfully combined Apollonian dream imagery, presented as high art for an intelligent reception, with its Dionysian Otherness representing the desublimated entertainment factor of his public persona. In other words, Dalí's public reputation as a crazy dandy was enough to sell the text and illustrations for those readers who were not interested in literature or art on an intellectual level.

For example, in *Don Quixote's First Sally*, at first glance, emotionally-inclined beholders simply perceive an effeminate Apollo and a semi-nude Aurora while going no further in their contemplation or pictorial analysis. However, art historical analyses reveal that Dalí renders a traditional, nude, and classically effeminate Apollo, as established over the centuries in classical sculpture (Hall 26). Dalí more importantly forms Alonso Quijano's deflation (Allen 63) by juxtaposing protagonist Don Quixote's reality with the grandeur of the protagonist's own invocation of deities to justify his first sally. This performativity parodies and satirizes both the protagonist and the genre of the pastoral, an action that I consider representative of Dalí's *L'Art vivant*. Dalí—as can be inferred from

the complex levels of pictorial storytelling in his illustrations—has read and reinterpreted Cervantes's text carefully, a fact maintained by García de la Rasilla, and renders the protagonist not as a hero but as a deflated fool. This goes against established illustrating traditions from previous centuries by artists such as Coypel, who composed his illustrations as viewed through Don Quixote's gaze: as a hero. Dalí denies his illustrations' compositions the heroism afforded by the protagonist's gaze, instead forming a metaphorical gaze through inanimate objects that allow us to view both reality and fantasy objectively.

It is important to underscore that in the three images analyzed in this study, Dalí forms the protagonist within his reality as a deflated figure, juxtaposed with the fantasy as indicated in the original Cervantine narrative. This is one of the primary reasons they constitute a grouping of illustrations that stands apart from the other seven watercolors in the text. In two of the images representing a second subgroup, the effect of using an inanimate object to focalize a metaphoric gaze forces us, the beholders, to cast aside our humanity—our human sympathy for a fool who demonstrates heroic intentions but cannot separate them in his own gaze—to “read” the pictorial diegetic narrative that focalizes reality and fantasy in the same pictorial composition. Yet Dalí goes one step farther in this didactic interaction with reader and beholder by forming one of his pictorial actors as interacting with reality and fantasy in the same composition. According to Romera-Navarro, the rendering of this action by a singular figure in a single pictorial composition is impossible yet Dalí achieves this interaction in *Don Quixote and the Battle of the Sheep* precisely because he impedes Don Quixote's gaze upon the scene,

allowing the shepherd with the red pants to pull back the clouds so that his sheep—and our gaze—can enter into pictorial fantasy.

Although Dalí does not desubliminate sexualized imagery in these illustrations, as stated above, he also does not cast aside surrealistic and oneiric qualities. His paranoiac-critical method facilitates the forming of reality and fantasy, and it is through the metaphor of an inhuman gaze that Dalí creates his pictorial diegesis that, in turn, indicates a respect of epic as categorized by McGraw's description of a hard reading of *Don Quixote*. That is, Dalí's pictorial reinterpretations of a deflated Don Quixote do not indicate that he conceived of the protagonist as universalized and heroic, as explained in the introduction to this dissertation.

I consider Dalí's classical trajectory a gradual crescendo, beginning with his essays in the 1930s, developing with or without Freud's influence through the 1940s, and continuing for the rest of his life. Our focus here on Dalí in the 1940s and in North America is based on the fact that Spain as a hegemonic power never materialized as Dalí anticipated, and as such, the Dalís moved to the United States, which was clearly establishing a world hegemony in the mid-1940s. As a result, Dalí was free to pursue not only his painting and public antics but also book illustration, all afforded by the comparatively peaceful economic upturn in the United States.⁹

When Dalí speaks of performative art—*l'art vivant*—one need look no farther than the 1946 illustrations analyzed here to observe the juxtaposition of reality and fantasy, as in *Don Quixote and the Battle of the Windmills* and the successful interaction

⁹ Future analyses will investigate Dalí's condition of "exile" in the United States from 1940 to 1948.

between reality and fantasy, as in *Don Quixote and the Adventure of the Flock of Sheep*. Dalí successfully conveys in his pictorial compositions Don Quixote's *engaño* to the post-World War II North American emerging middle class through thoughtful and masterful satire that is high art, not kitsch. It is with the 1946 text that we can begin to categorize Dalí's niche as an illustrator of *Don Quixote*, fully understanding that the artist continued to develop pictorial interpretations of the protagonist for the rest of his career.

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APPENDIX A

CORRESPONDENCE BETWEEN THE DALÍ'S AND RANDOM HOUSE

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toutes facilités à ce propos
Sincèrement votre

Salvador Dali

Fig. 11. Dalí, Salvador and Gala Dalí. Correspondence 1. January 12, 1946. Random House Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, used with permission.

S. Dalí : c/o Mr Jack Warner

1801 Angelo Drive
Beverly Hills, California

2 febr. 46

cher Monsieur Reiman,
Dalí me prie de vous dire
qu'il n'a eu de recevoir votre
lettre envoyée à Mr George
Keller directeur de Random
House, lequel selon une
promesse par quelqu'un de
Random House s'est engagé
sur une vente des illustrations
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liser la situation et pour
ne pas faire manquer cette
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part ont eu la réputation
d'être dans la presse et de
préparer la parution du
livre -

Esperant beaucoup
dans l'ardeur que vous voudrez
apporter pour faciliter
les circonstances, je reste
devotement votre
Gala Dalí

P.S. Par Mr Harry Abrams
j'ai demandé depuis longtemps
de vous et vous enverrez
plusieurs exemplaires de
Don Quixote -
Mille vives

Fig. 13. Dalí, Salvador and Gala Dalí. Correspondence 3. No date. Random House Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, used with permission.

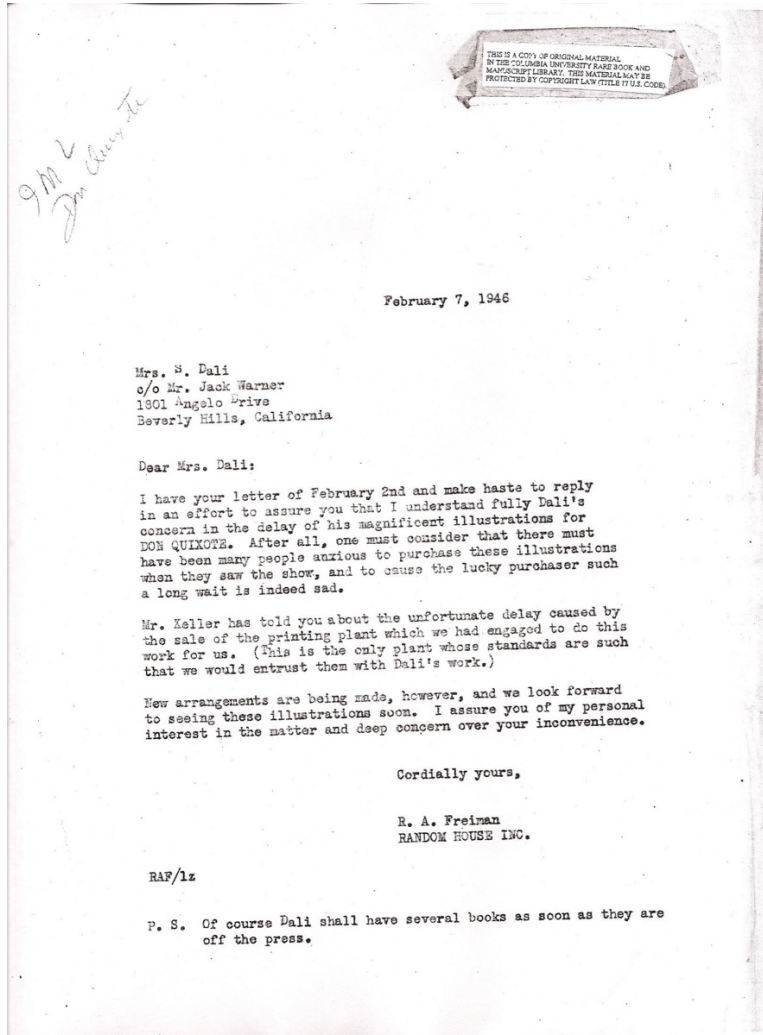


Fig. 14. Freiman, R. A. Correspondence 1. February 7, 1946. Random House Records, Rare Book & Manuscript Library, Columbia University in the City of New York, used with permission.